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*Louis II de Bourbon Prince de Condé
(le Grand Condé)*

From an engraving by L. G. sculpsit, after the painting by Teniers.

A PRINCESS OF INTRIGUE

*Anne Geneviève de Bourbon, Duchesse de
Longueville, and her Times*

By

H. NOEL WILLIAMS

Author of "Five Fair Sisters," "Madame Récamier and her Friends,"
"Madame de Pompadour," "Queen Margot," etc.

"En France nous avons trois femmes qui seroient capables de gouverner
ou de bouleverser trois grands royaumes: la Duchesse de Longueville, la
Princesse Palatine, et la Duchesse de Chevreuse."—MAZARIN.

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TO
MY WIFE

CONTENTS

	PAGE
CHAPTER XIII	345
CHAPTER XIV	365
CHAPTER XV	385
CHAPTER XVI	422
CHAPTER XVII	452
CHAPTER XVIII	487
CHAPTER XIX	516
CHAPTER XX	538
CHAPTER XXI	563
CHAPTER XXII	587
CHAPTER XXIII	609
CHAPTER XXIV	645
CHAPTER XXV	674
CHAPTER XXVI	700
INDEX	723

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

VOL. II

LOUIS II. DE BOURBON, PRINCE DE CONDÉ (" <i>le Grand Condé</i> ")	
(<i>Photogravure</i>)	<i>Frontispiece</i>
From an engraving by Lisebetten after the painting by Teniers.	
	FACING PAGE
CARDINAL MAZARIN	356
From a contemporary print.	
ANNE DE ROHAN, DUCHESSE DE CHEVREUSE	378
From an engraving by Gaitte.	
ANNE GENEVIÈVE DE BOURBON, DUCHESSE DE LONGUEVILLE	404
From an engraving by Regnesson after the drawing by Chauveau.	
HENRI DE LA TOUR D'Auvergne, MARÉCHAL DE TURENNE	434
From an engraving by Schley.	
ANNE DE GONZAGUE, PRINCESS PALATINE	462
From an engraving by Rousselet.	
ARMAND DE BOURBON, PRINCE DE CONTI	480
From a contemporary print.	
CHARLOTTE MARIE DE LORRAINE, Mlle. DE CHEVREUSE	506
From a contemporary print.	
MARIE D'ORLÉANS, Mlle. DE LONGUEVILLE (AFTERWARDS DUCHESSE DE NEMOURS)	526
From an engraving by Nanteuil after the painting by Beaubrun.	
CHARLES AMÉDÉE DE SAVOIE, DUC DE NEMOURS	564
From a contemporary print.	
ANGÉLIQUE ISABELLE DE MONTMORENCY-BOUTTEVILLE, DUCHESSE DE CHÂTILLON	594
From an engraving published by Moncornet.	
CLAIRE CLÉMENCE DE MAILLÉ-BRÉZÉ, PRINCESSE DE CONDÉ	622
From an engraving published by Moncornet.	

	FACING PAGE
MARIA FELICIA ORSINI, DUCHESSE DE MONTMORENCY	650
From an engraving by Van Schuppen.	
MADELEINE DE SOUVRE, MARQUISE DE SABLÉ	668
From an engraving by Leguay after a painting by an unknown artist.	
ANTOINE SINGLIN	682
From an engraving after the painting of Philippe de Champagne.	
ANTOINE ARNAULD	692
From an engraving by Edelinck after the painting by Philippe de Champagne.	
CHARLES PARIS D'ORLÉANS, DUC DE LONGUEVILLE	706
From an engraving after the painting by Ferdinand.	

A PRINCESS OF INTRIGUE

CHAPTER XIII

Reconciliation between the members of the Condé family—Madame de Longueville resumes her influence over Condé, and endeavours to draw him from his alliance with Mazarin—Position and pretensions of *Monsieur le Prince*—He refuses the command of the army in Flanders and retires to Burgundy—Disorders in Paris—Renewed efforts of Madame de Longueville to separate her elder brother from the Cardinal—Mazarin's matrimonial schemes—Condé joins the Court at Compiègne—Return of their Majesties to Paris—Ball at the Hôtel de Ville—Madame de Longueville urges Condé to oppose the marriage of Mazarin's niece, Laure Mancini, with the Duc de Mercœur—The New Fronde—Violent quarrel between Mazarin and Condé (September 14)—Overtures by the Old Fronde to the prince—Intrigues of Madame de Longueville and Conti to prevent an accommodation between their brother and the Cardinal—Reconciliation of September 17—Conversation between Condé and his sister—Renewed negotiations between the prince and the Frondeurs—Agreement of October 2 between Mazarin and Condé.

THE reconciliation between the rival parties was followed by a reconciliation in the House of Condé. The princess-dowager, who had deeply deplored the division in her family, employed all her influence to re-establish harmony between her children, and with complete success. Condé despised rather

than disliked his brother (one day, at Saint-Germain, he is said to have dressed up a hunchback in a general's uniform and presented him to the Queen, with the remark : "Behold, Madame, the generalissimo of the Fronde !") ; while, in spite of recent events, he still retained for his beautiful and talented sister much of his former affectionate admiration. The meeting between *Monsieur le Prince* and his relatives took place at Chaillot, where embraces and complimentary speeches were exchanged, and it was unanimously agreed to forgive and forget.

Far better would it have been for the House of Condé and for France had the division between its members remained unhealed, for no sooner did Madame de Longueville find herself again on terms of friendship and confidence with her elder brother, than she resumed her efforts to draw him from his alliance with Mazarin. "She made him understand," says Madame de Motteville, "that he had done wrong in separating himself from his family, who would be useful to his interests. He perceived that the Prince de Conti was obtaining great advantages at Court, and he recognised that Madame de Longueville, who had guided the latter to this result, was worth listening to, and could be of use to him in many ways. In a word, he was pleased and captivated by the flattering illusions of the princess ; and blood, added to policy, bound him by fresh ties."

The good understanding between *Monsieur le Prince* and the Cardinal had been merely of a tem-

porary nature, called into being by the danger to which the royal authority had found itself exposed ; and it did not long survive the restoration of order. Condé, indeed, declared publicly that he had upheld Mazarin because he had pledged his word to do so, but that, if matters took a different course, he should consider himself at perfect liberty to withdraw his protection from the Minister. His natural pride and arrogance had been enormously increased by the events of the last few months, and he had begun to consider his support absolutely indispensable to the Crown. It may have been so in a military sense, but certainly not in a political one. His high rank and great territorial influence must always command a large following among the nobility, both at the Court and in the provinces ; but he had none of the consummate tact, none of the winning personality, of a Henri de Guise ; and, in spite of the glamour of his victories, he aroused no popular enthusiasm. In Paris, he was disliked by the Parlement, for the haughty and contemptuous manner in which he had so often treated it, and detested by the people, both as the protector of Mazarin and on account of the cruelties which the royal troops had perpetrated during the siege upon the Frondeurs and the defenceless peasantry. On the first occasion on which he visited the capital after the conclusion of peace, this hostility manifested itself in an unmistakable manner, in the angry cries which followed his coach as it passed through the streets.

Nevertheless, he was a powerful ally and a dangerous enemy ; and the Regent and her Minister were willing to go to great lengths to secure a continuance of the support. But no ordinary favours or concessions were likely to satisfy a man who regarded himself as the saviour of the Crown, and believed that he held its fate in the hollow of his hand ; while his jealous and suspicious mind, skilfully played upon by his sister, seemed to see in every action of Mazarin a carefully calculated move to strengthen the Cardinal's position or to diminish his own prestige. Thus, he excused himself from accepting the command of the army in Flanders, ostensibly on the ground that he could not approve of the object of the campaign, which was the reduction of Cambrai, but really because he believed that, whatever might be the result, Mazarin would be the gainer ; that, whereas success would strengthen the hands of the Minister rather than add to the laurels of the general, failure might seriously prejudice the latter's reputation.¹ Accordingly, the command was entrusted to the Comte d'Harcourt, who failed completely before Cambrai ; and Condé, apparently on the advice of Madame de Longueville, retired into his government of Burgundy, to await with impatience

¹ This is the view taken by the prince's eulogistic biographer, Earl Stanhope ("Life of Louis of Bourbon, Prince of Condé"). The Duc d'Aumale, on the other hand, also a warm admirer of *Monsieur le Prince*, seems to be of opinion that Condé was justified in declining the command, or, as he prefers to put it, "asking not to be entrusted with it," in view of the total failure of the Government to support him during the Flemish campaign of 1648, of which we have spoken elsewhere.

the hour when the Government should again require his services, promising himself that they should be sold at a high price.

That hour was not long in arriving. The "*Paix Mazarine*" had satisfied the Parlement, which had resumed its long-neglected judicial functions ; but the people were still discontented, and a section of the nobility, headed by Retz, Beaufort, Madame de Longueville, and Conti, seemed to have settled down into definite opposition to the Government, and lost no opportunity of fomenting the popular unrest. The more adventurous spirits among them made no secret of their hostility to Mazarin. They swaggered about the streets, with the badge of the Fronde, a sling of cord, on their hats ; they called themselves "masters of the pavement ;" chastised the royal lackeys when they happened to meet them, bidding them carry their complaints to the Queen and the Cardinal ; and quarrelled and fought with the nobles of the Court party on the terrace at Renard's. The needy scribes in the pay of the coadjutor, who tells us that he "almost made of his house an academy," continued to pour forth *Mazarinades*, which attacked the Minister and Anne with more indecency than ever. The Parlement forbade the printers to print or sell them, and one Claude Morlot, who had published a particularly gross libel upon the Regent (*le custode du lit de la Reine, qui dit tout*), was condemned to death. But, when he was taken to the Place de Grève, the mob, with shouts of "Down with the Mazarins !"

attacked the officers, demolished the scaffold, and rescued the prisoner. Clearly it was time that the Court returned to Paris, from which its continued absence was one of the chief sources of irritation.

The Regent and Mazarin, however, both felt that it was essential that *Monsieur le Prince* should accompany them, lest the malcontents should derive encouragement from the belief that all was not as it should be between the Government and its protector. Accordingly, the Cardinal wrote urging Condé to return ; and on July 22 the latter arrived in Paris, on his way to join the Court at Compiègne.

During his absence, Madame de Longueville had been at work upon her mother, and had contrived to gain *Madame la Princesse* completely over to her views. The latter had not, in consequence, visited the Court since the peace, and spoke of her old friend the Queen as if she were now quite indifferent to her. Encouraged by this success, the Frondeuse princess redoubled her efforts to win Condé, "telling him that he would some day be glad to follow her counsels, and would bitterly repent of the protection he had given Mazarin." At the same time, "in order to reconcile the populace to her brother, she spread abroad a report that he had become devout during his absence, and that a much-respected Carthusian monk had converted him."¹

Mazarin, on his side, had not been idle. After the Peace of Rueil, Madame de Chevreuse, profiting by

¹ Motteville.

the general amnesty, had returned to France, not indisposed to exchange her rôle of an exiled intriguer for that of a friend of the Court. Mazarin, who entertained a high opinion of her talents, was only too ready to meet her half-way ; and the lady, who had once been his deadly enemy, now became one of his most valued advisers. Her step-mother, Madame de Montbazon, was also gained over, by the promise of a substantial pension and the grant of a *tabouret* to her daughter ;¹ and the Cardinal proceeded to use the two duchesses for the furtherance of a scheme whereby he hoped to greatly strengthen his position.

This was to attach the Vendôme family to his interests, by giving the eldest of his nieces, Laure Mancini,² plus a dowry of 600,000 livres, to the Duc de Vendôme's eldest son, the Duc de Mercœur, and restoring the Admiralty to the father. By this means, he intended to disarm Beaufort, whose immense popularity with the Parisians rendered him an important factor in the political situation, notwithstanding his personal ineptitude. At the same time, he proposed that Beaufort should marry Marie d'Orléans, the Duc de Longueville's daughter by his first marriage, a match which, he believed, would be very acceptable to the "*Roi des Halles*."

¹ Marie Eléonore de Rohan, afterwards abbess of the Couvent de Sainte-Trinité, at Caen, and later of Malnoue, in Brie.

² For an account of Laure Mancini and the other nieces of Mazarin, see Amédée Renée's *les Nièces de Mazarin* (Paris, 1858), and the author's "Five Fair Sisters" (London : Hutchinson ; New York : Putnam's, 1906).

Vendôme, tired of opposition to the Court, which had brought him nothing but exile and imprisonment, was willing enough to accept the good things which an alliance with the Cardinal's family would ensure him ; while his son, an amiable and pious young man, the exact antithesis of his turbulent brother, appeared to be as favourably impressed by the charms of Mlle. Mancini as by the magnitude of her proposed dowry. Longueville, too, raised no objection to giving his daughter to Beaufort, and the lady herself was not opposed to the match ; but, in spite of the efforts of his relatives and of Mesdames de Chevreuse and de Montbazon, Beaufort absolutely refused to compromise his popularity with the mob by a reconciliation with Mazarin, and, instead of yielding to their solicitations, attached himself more closely than ever to the irreconcilable Frondeurs.

Condé quitted Paris on August 22, and, after a brief visit to Chantilly, proceeded to Compiègne. If he had shown any ill-humour on his departure for Burgundy, there were no traces of it on his return to the Court. Immediately on his arrival, he sought out Mazarin, whom he greeted with every appearance of cordiality. He next visited the Queen "and told her that he had become neither a Frondeur nor a saint, assuring her that he renounced entirely the sentiments of his family, which he frankly admitted were somewhat tainted."¹ He promised, however, to do all in his power to bring them to a better way of

¹ Motteville.

thinking, and pressed her to return to Paris, declaring that he would be personally answerable for Mazarin's safety, Anne's fears for which had been the chief cause of the prolonged absence of the Court.

One of Condé's most intimate friends, the Duc de Rohan-Chabot, assured Madame de Motteville at this time that the prince was perfectly sincere in his professions of friendship for the Court, and had not the least intention of allowing his sister to draw him into a rupture with Mazarin, although he was not unwilling that the Cardinal should suppose such a result possible, in order to intimidate him into granting his demands. But Rohan expressed his belief that Madame de Longueville would eventually succeed in persuading her brother to go a great deal further than the latter desired, "since there was nothing so easy as to find means of irritating a Prince of the Blood, who always wanted more than could be given him."

On August 18, their Majesties returned to their capital, after an absence of seven and a half months. They reached the Porte Saint-Denis at eight o'clock in the evening, and proceeded to the Palais-Royal, through streets ablaze with torches, everywhere greeted by the capricious populace with frenzied acclamations, which, as Retz justly remarks, signified nothing. Even Mazarin, who sat by Condé's side at the *portière* of the royal coach,¹ and might justifiably have felt

¹ According to *Mademoiselle*, there were eight persons, including herself, in the royal coach, who, as it was an intensely hot day, found the journey a decidedly trying experience.

some uneasiness in passing through the serried ranks of that mob which held him in such abhorrence, found himself received with no more hostile greeting than cries of "*Voilà Mazarin!*"

Their Majesties alighted at the Palais-Royal, where Retz and Beaufort waited upon them to offer their submission. The latter was received somewhat coldly by the Queen, who, however, confined herself to remarking that she desired to see his actions correspond to his words. Before retiring, *Monsieur le Prince* saluted Anne of Austria, and addressed to her some words of felicitation. "Monsieur," replied the Queen, "the service which you have rendered the State is so great that the King and I should be ingrates if we ever forgot it."

As Condé left the room, a friend whispered in his ear: "This is a greatness of service which makes me tremble for you." Five months later, he was a prisoner at Vincennes.

A few days after the return of the Court, the municipality, wishing to testify its joy at the auspicious event, gave a magnificent ball to their Majesties at the Hôtel de Ville. The Queen had accepted the invitation, on condition that the ball should take place in the afternoon, probably owing to the fact that, in spite of the enthusiastic demonstrations which had greeted the entry of the Court, she was still somewhat distrustful of the good-will of the citizens. But, according to one authority, because she believed daylight would be somewhat trying to certain ladies of

the Fronde who were accustomed to summon art to the assistance of Nature.¹ Madame de Longueville, who had recently retired to Chantilly, "out of pique at seeing the King and Queen again in Paris," considered that this ball would furnish her with a good excuse for returning to the capital. But the Queen desired to give expression to her hostility to the duchess by not inviting her; and when *Madame la Princesse* asked for an invitation for her daughter, her Majesty replied coldly that "she feared to inconvenience her," for the lady's pretext for retiring to Chantilly had been that of ill-health. It was not, indeed, until Condé himself intervened that Anne yielded, remarking that "she was surprised that that important Madame de Longueville had made such great efforts to obtain so small a thing."²

On August 25, the King went in great pomp to celebrate the Festival of Saint-Louis at the Jesuit Church in the Rue Saint-Antoine. The royal procession, in which rode the Princes de Condé and de Conti and a number of the greatest nobles, mounted on magnificent horses covered with elaborate trappings of gold and silver embroidery, which reached to the ground, was welcomed all along the route with tumultuous demonstrations of joy. As for the Cardinal, the boatmen on the Seine gave a fête in his honour; his health was drunk in the same taverns in

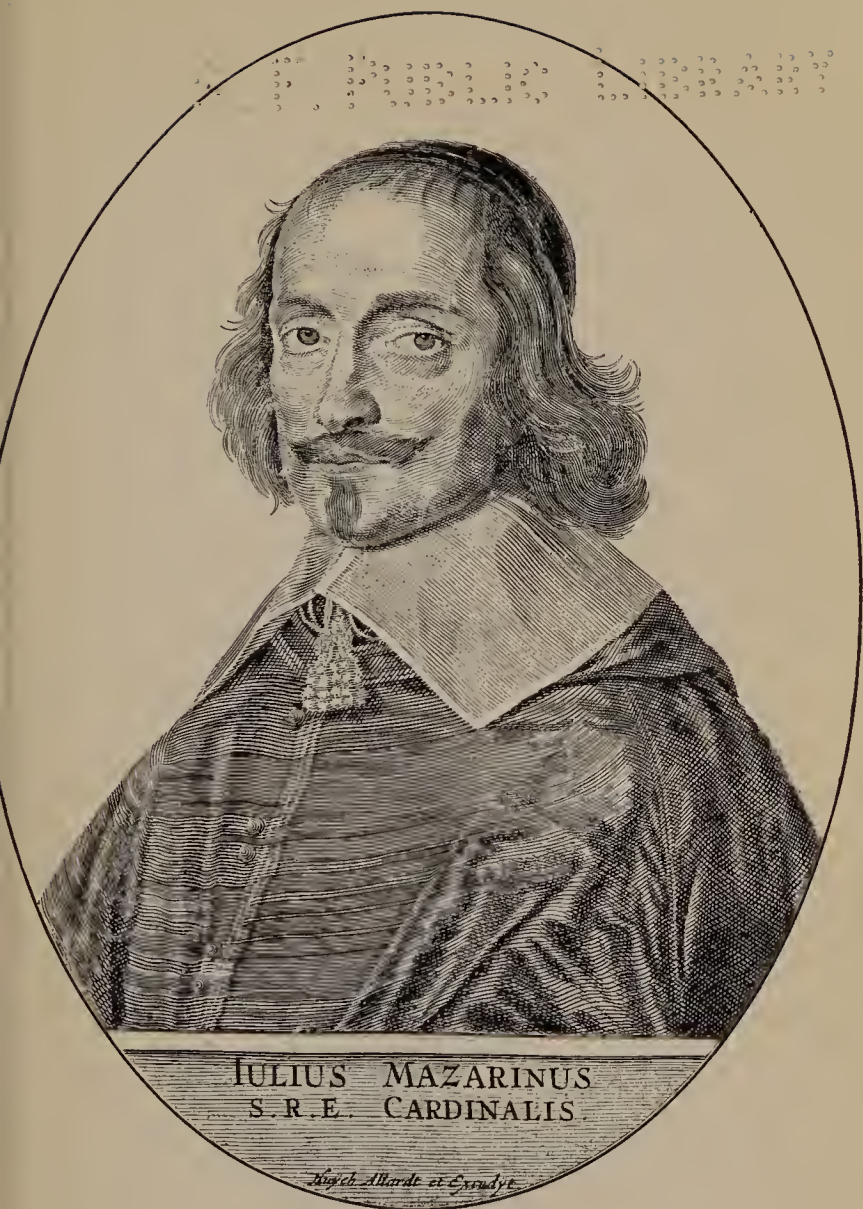
¹ Motteville.

² Bourgoing de Villefore, *la Véritable Vie d'Anne-Geneviève de Bourbon, Duchesse de Longueville*.

which his confusion had been so lately toasted, and, as he passed through the streets, he met with nothing but respectful salutations.

However, in the midst of these manifestations of public joy, the situation at Court had again become strained. Mazarin, always ready to promise more than he could perform, had given Condé reason to believe that the Government would purchase for him the county of Montbéliard, which belonged to the Duke of Würtemberg ; but the negotiations had come to nothing, and the Cardinal's enemies did not fail to accuse him of perfidy.¹ The prince, moreover, saw with jealousy and uneasiness that Mazarin was inclining more and more towards the Vendômes, between whom and the House of Condé a bitter rivalry had existed ever since the beginning of the Regency ; and he accordingly lent but too-willing an ear to the warnings of Madame de Longueville, who pointed out that the alliance projected between the Duc de Mercœur and Laure Mancini was a certain proof that Mazarin had ceased to regard *Monsieur le Prince* as his chief support, and that when the Duc de Vendôme had become, by this marriage, the connection of the Minister, he would be more considered than any one by the King and Queen. At the same time, she reminded him that her husband had not yet obtained the government of the Pont-de-l'Arche, promised him at the time of the

¹ A despatch of Lionne de Servien, dated July 26, 1649, which Chéruel cites (*Histoire de la France pendant la minorité de Louis XIV.*), proves, however, that Mazarin, on this occasion at least, had acted in perfectly good faith.



IULIUS MAZARINUS
S. R. E. CARDINALIS

August. Allard et Goussier

From a contemporary print.

CARDINAL MAZARIN.

Peace of Rueil ; while, on the other hand, Vendôme was about to obtain the Admiralty, which he himself had demanded in vain on the death of his brother-in-law, the Duc de Brézé.¹

To the exhortations of his sister, who was fully determined on the overthrow of Mazarin, unless the Minister were prepared to be content with the mere shadow of power and yield the substance to the House of Condé and its allies, was joined the flattery of a band of young nobles, the La Moussayes, the Boutteviles, and the Tavannes, who imitated *Monsieur le Prince's* grandiose manners, styled him "The Master," and were themselves dubbed by the people the "*petits-mâîtres*" (little masters). These young men were constantly urging Condé to play an important part in the State—a rôle for which, it may be observed, he was not in the smallest degree fitted—and declaring their belief that the services he had rendered the Crown had been most inadequately recompensed. In short, a new Fronde was beginning—a Fronde of the princes and the "*petits-mâîtres*"—which had not the excuse of the old Fronde, since its origin was merely the ambition and the rivalry of the great families of the realm, though it was sustained by the turbulent and intriguing section of the latter, which desired at all cost to break the peace and overthrow Mazarin.

The Cardinal, aware of the cabals that threatened him, pressed on the union of his niece with the Duc

¹ See p. 258 *supra*.

de Mercœur, which was to secure for him the powerful support of Vendôme, and, he hoped, the neutrality at least of Beaufort. All the preliminaries were satisfactorily arranged, and the celebration of the marriage was fixed for September 19, 1649. Condé, however, urged on by his sister, was now resolved to use every means in his power to prevent an alliance which would render Mazarin less dependent and Vendôme more powerful. On the 14th, he was at the Palais-Royal, when the Cardinal approached and asked him to sign the marriage-contract. The prince replied brusquely that he was not related to the parties, and that therefore his signature was not needed. He added that he, on his side, had several requests to make to the Minister, the first and most important of which was that he should fulfil the promise made to the Duc de Longueville of the government of the Pont-de-l'Arche, "That is one of those engagements which one enters into without any intention of keeping them," rejoined Mazarin laughing ; and he reminded Condé that, during the negotiations at Rueil, it had been agreed that the Pont-de-l'Arche should be promised to Longueville, in order to hasten the peace, but that subsequently a pretext should be found for not conferring the post. It was certainly highly undesirable that the duke, whose power in Normandy already overshadowed that of the Crown, and who had so recently used it without scruple against his sovereign, should have an important fortress in that province placed in his hands. Nevertheless, however impolitic such an engagement may

have been, it was one of the conditions of the Peace of Rueil.

At this refusal, Condé, already very badly disposed towards the Cardinal, lost his temper altogether, reproached Mazarin bitterly with his broken faith, and, on taking his departure, saluted him with the ironical remark : " Adieu, Mars."

The Cardinal, much alarmed, lost no time in despatching his faithful henchman, Le Tellier, to the Hôtel de Condé, with conciliatory overtures ; but the prince bade him tell the Minister that he would never recognise him again, except at the Council, and that, instead of being the Cardinal's protector as heretofore, he could be henceforth counted as his bitterest enemy.

The rupture between *Monsieur le Prince* and the Minister was soon common knowledge ; and, on the morning of the 16th, the chiefs of the Fronde hastened to the Hôtel de Condé, eager to offer their services. Retz and the Président de Bellièvre urged the prince to enter with his friends into an alliance with them, to place himself at the head of their united parties, and to shake off the yoke of the foreign favourite, pointing out that such a coalition could not for one moment be withstood. Madame de Longueville and the Prince de Conti were strongly in favour of this step ; but Condé could not at once make up his mind to the proposed alliance, though he promised to give the matter careful consideration, and let them know his decision two days hence.

In the meanwhile, the Queen and Mazarin had

sent Le Tellier to the Luxembourg, to beg the Abbé de la Rivière to secure the mediation of the Duc d'Orléans. That vacillating prince was, as usual in the case of imbroglions of this nature, in doubt as to which side to espouse. But the abbé represented to him that the undisputed ascendancy of Condé and his relatives might be very prejudicial to his interests, which would be best preserved by maintaining the *status quo*. Orléans accordingly had an interview with Condé, pointed out the danger to the State of allowing a party to be formed of the factious and unruly spirits which surrounded him, and "conjured him to prefer the public peace to his own feelings." Condé relented so far as to place his interests in the duke's hands, and together they gave a commission to La Rivière to bring about a settlement.

The prospect of a reconciliation was, however, by no means welcome to Madame de Longueville and her younger brother, who, according to Madame de Motteville, "dreamed of becoming what Madame de Beaujeu and her husband had formerly been under Charles VIII., when they drove out the Duc d'Orléans and governed the State as they pleased for a long term of years." They had already, it appears, made overtures to La Rivière, with the object of gaining his patron over to their party, promising him a cardinal's hat, the object of all his desires, which Conti was to renounce in his favour; and they now went so far as to offer to establish him as Prime Minister, in place of Mazarin, if he would persuade

Orléans to consent to the ruin of the man they desired to be rid of. The abbé, however, who, as we have seen, recognised the impossibility of harmonizing the interests of his patron with the ambition of the Condé family, and was, besides, somewhat sceptical as to whether these fine promises would ever be fulfilled, declined their proposals, sheltering himself behind "his zeal for the State."

Early on the morning of September 18, Retz and Noirmoutier came to the Hôtel de Condé, to learn the prince's decision in regard to the propositions the Frondeurs had made him two days before. To their mortification, he declared his inability to accept them, since he was convinced that the Queen was so attached to the Cardinal, that nothing but force could separate them; and he could not agree to another civil war. He then informed them that Mazarin had surrendered on the question of the Pont-de-l'Arche, in consideration of which he had consented to a reconciliation.

As a matter of fact, on the previous day, the Cardinal had yielded all along the line. The Pont-de-l'Arche was given to Longueville; the Queen promised to keep the Admiralty in her own hands; and the Mercœur-Mancini marriage was indefinitely postponed; while an additional sop was thrown to the prince, in the form of the right of disposal of a number of offices in the Royal Household, worth nearly a million livres.

The reconciliation was but little sincere. Lenet reports a conversation between Condé and Madame de

Longueville, which took place later on the same day, and which very faithfully describes the situation :

“The prince, approaching, said to her, in a laughing and jesting tone : ‘Well, sister ! “The Mazarin ” and I are now become like two heads in one cap.’ ‘That is very fine,’ replied the duchess, gravely ; ‘I pray God, brother, that you may not lose all your friends and all your reputation, which the Abbé de la Rivière and the Duc d’Orléans will not give you back, and still less the Cardinal and the Queen. . But is it true,’ she added, after a long pause, ‘that “the Mazarin ” sups with you this evening ?’ ‘Yes, it is rather amusing,’ rejoined he. ‘*Monsieur* [Gaston d’Orléans] has invited me to supper, and told me to bring the Cardinal and some gamblers, to pass away the time after supper.’ ‘That will be very pleasant,’ replied the duchess, in a tone which showed the aversion which she felt towards this party. ‘I cannot avoid it,’ added the prince. And, turning to me, he said : ‘Come there, I beg you, and you will see how I shall behave towards the Cardinal, and whether I have consented to his supping with me, except out of the complaisance that I owe *Monsieur*.’ ”¹

The supper intended to cement this reconciliation was a sufficiently lugubrious affair to have satisfied even Madame de Longueville ; particularly for Mazarin, whom Condé and his friends treated with a contempt which they were at small pains to conceal. “The prince,” writes one of those present, “did not let fall

¹ Lenet, *Mémoires*.

a word which was not a kind of sneer at the expense of the Cardinal, whose melancholy air made us all perceive that he resented them keenly.”¹

The peace, as may be anticipated, was merely a momentary truce. A day or two later, negotiations between Condé and the Fronde were reopened, and it was arranged that the prince should present to the Parlement a request that the decree of 1617, which forbade, under the severest penalties, any foreigner holding office under the Crown, should be put into force against Mazarin. The Cardinal, recognising the hopelessness of contending against the united forces of Condé, Retz, Beaufort, and their followers, resolved to bow before the storm, and to make a surrender so absolute as to satisfy even *Monsieur le Prince* and his ambitious sister. Accordingly, having secured the consent of the Regent, he, on October 2, drew up and signed a written agreement, by which he undertook that no one should be appointed to any important post in the Government, the Church, the Diplomatic Service, the Army, or the Royal Household, nor should any matter of importance to the State be decided on, unless Condé had been first consulted. Finally, he undertook to sustain “everywhere and always” the interests of *Monsieur le Prince*, “to live with him in perfect intelligence,” and not to arrange any marriage for his nephews or nieces without his consent. On these conditions, *Monsieur le Prince* assured the Cardinal “of his friendship, promising to maintain a perfect

¹ Letter of Claude de Saint-Simon to Chavigny, published by Chéruel.

understanding with him, and to serve him in all the interests of the State, and in his own private interests, towards all and against all."

The effect of this agreement was to make Condé almost a dictator; but, as the crafty Italian had, of course, foreseen, the victory was one which was likely to cost the haughty prince dear. In the first place, he alienated the Frondeurs, who now perceived that Condé had used them merely for his own ends, and, these once accomplished, had abandoned them without compunction. In the second, though the precise terms of the agreement were not made public, it was common knowledge that Condé had not restored his protection to the Cardinal, except at the price of great concessions,¹ a fact which could not fail to arouse the jealousy of Orléans, already inclined to take umbrage at the influence of *Monsieur le Prince*. Under which circumstances, Mazarin felt that he could afford to swallow the affront he had received and await patiently a favourable opportunity for revenge.

¹ "Madame de Montbazon says," wrote Mazarin, "that the prince hates the Cardinal to the last extremity, speaks of him as a slave who can refuse him nothing, and whom he will drive away when he pleases."—*Carnet XIII*.

CHAPTER XIV

Pride and arrogance of Condé and Madame de Longueville—The “War of the *Tabourets*”—Pretended assassination of Guy Joly and attack upon Condé’s coach—Responsibility of Mazarin for these attempts considered—Criminal proceedings instituted against Retz, Beaufort, and Broussel for the attempted assassination of *Monsieur le Prince*—Scenes at the Palais de Justice—Efforts of Retz and Beaufort to conciliate Condé frustrated by Madame de Longueville—Negotiations between Mazarin and the Old Fronde for an alliance against Condé—The Marquis de Jarzé, instigated by Condé, attempts to supplant Mazarin in the affections of Anne of Austria, and is publicly rebuked by the Queen—Clandestine marriage between the young Duc de Richelieu and Madame de Pons promoted by Madame de Longueville and her brothers—Alliance between the Court and the Old Fronde negotiated, and arrest of Condé agreed upon—Manœuvres by which Mazarin contrives to secure the consent of Orléans to this step.

THE pride and arrogance of Condé and his sister after the Cardinal’s surrender knew no bounds. The former had always “preferred gaining battles to hearts ;” but Madame de Longueville, once so celebrated for her exquisite tact and winning courtesy, seemed to have become, with the aggrandizement of her family, as haughty and supercilious as her elder brother. “In affairs of importance,” says the Duchesse de Nemours, “they took a pleasure in disobliging, and in affairs of every-day life were so reckless that it was impossible to endure it. They had such a mocking tone, and said

such harsh things that no one could fail to take offence. In the visits which were paid them, they exhibited a disdainful weariness, and openly showed their *ennui*. No matter how exalted the rank of their visitors, they were compelled to wait an immense time in *Monsieur le Prince's* ante-chamber; and very frequently, after they had waited so long, he sent every one away without seeing them."

All this naturally did not tend to reconcile the nobility to the domination of the Condés; and an incident which now occurred converted the ill-humour with which they regarded their pretensions into active hostility.

Far from being content with having gratified the ambition of her husband in obtaining for him the government of the Pont-de-l'Arche, Madame de Longueville sought to gratify that of her lover as well; and accordingly pressed Condé to obtain for La Rochefoucauld "the honours of the Louvre"¹ and the *tabouret* for his wife. At the same time, she also solicited a *tabouret* for her friend Anne du Vigean, elder sister of Condé's former enchantress, and now the widow of the Marquis de Pons, who had claimed descent from the House of Albret. The requests were granted; and Condé, delighted with such a practical proof of the desire of Anne and her Minister to submit in all things to his

¹ The right of driving his coach into the courtyard of the Louvre or whichever royal palace the King happened to be residing in. It was a privilege enjoyed by none below the rank of duke, except as a special favour. La Rochefoucauld, it should be remembered, had not yet succeeded to the family title.

will, "became mild and tractable," assured the Queen of his fidelity, embraced the Cardinal, and promised him his friendship. "There seemed to be in all minds a general satisfaction. The Queen believed that, after so many troubles, she might at last hope for some repose. Madame de Longueville's desires and those of the Prince de Marsillac [La Rochefoucauld] were fulfilled, and, finding themselves masters of the Court, they had almost nothing to wish for, except the continuance of their success."¹

The calm did not last long. The granting of the *tabouret* to the wife of a son of a duke, and to a lady who had only a very shadowy claim to belong to the House of Albret, provoked a perfect storm of protest from almost the entire aristocracy of the kingdom. Nobles who had regarded the Fronde as "*une guerre pour rire*," who had cared not a sol whether Alsace belonged to France or the Empire, or, indeed, for any question which did not directly affect their own interests, were beside themselves with indignation at the thought that Mesdames de Marsillac and de Pons should have the privilege of being seated in the presence of the Queen, while their own wives were compelled to stand. The Maréchal de l'Hôpital presented to her Majesty a petition signed by an immense number of the nobility, including many of the most illustrious names in France, setting forth their objections to the *tabourets* just conferred, and begging her to revoke them without delay. Condé warmly

¹ Motteville.

defended his sister's *protégées*. The noblesse grew more insistent, and held several meetings at the Maréchal de l'Hôpital's hôtel. Finally, the Queen and the Cardinal, who asked nothing better than to throw on Condé the odium of favours which had provoked such widespread resentment, and to give themselves the merit of suppressing them,¹ yielded to the demand of the nobles, and both *tabourets* were withdrawn, to the intense chagrin of *Monsieur le Prince* and his sister, who found that, for once, they had over-reached themselves.

To those older or more skilled in political intrigue than these two—for it is certain that Madame de Longueville was the confidante, if not the instigator, of almost every step that Condé took—this check might have served as a useful lesson; but, as we shall presently see, it appears to have only spurred them on to fresh indiscretions.

In the meanwhile, a more serious measure than disputes over *tabourets* was engaging the attention of the Government. The *rentes* of the Hôtel de Ville, which were secured upon the proceeds of the *gabelle*, or salt-duty, and from which many persons of the middle-class drew their support, were, as a rule, paid with some approach to regularity. But, in the still disordered condition of the country, the sale of

¹ "This affair," wrote the Venetian Ambassador Morosini, "suits Mazarin's game to a nicety: in a word, if Condé yields, he loses the friends whom he has failed to support; if he persists and continues his efforts in their favour, the whole nobility will cry out against him."
—Published by Chéruef.

contraband salt had increased to an alarming extent, while the receipts from the Government warehouses had shown a corresponding decline. The consequence was that the autumn of 1649 found the farmers of the taxes unable to discharge their obligations to the *rentiers*, and the Government powerless to assist them. Mazarin was, as usual, prodigal in promises, and d'Emeri, who had been lately reinstated in the office of Comptroller-General, did what little he could to relieve the distress which the suspension of payment had occasioned. But the complaints of the *rentiers* grew louder and louder ; stormy meetings were held at the Hôtel de Ville ; syndics were appointed to support their demands, and a new insurrection seemed imminent.

Now, the influence of Retz, Beaufort, and the other leaders of the Fronde had of late declined in a manner which had seriously alarmed these worthies. With the return of the Court, the populace seemed to have lost, for a time at least, their natural inclination towards disorder ; Retz's curés had shown a most provoking tendency to inculcate in their flocks lessons of obedience rather than of resistance to the royal authority, and, in spite of the efforts of the coadjutor, the chapter of Notre-Dame had actually sent a deputation to the Cardinal to felicitate him on his return ; the gentlemen of the long robe, whose pockets had suffered severely during the war, seemed to think of nothing but garnering fees ; while Madame de Longueville, her husband, Conti, La Rochefoucauld,

Bouillon, and others had withdrawn from their party to form one of their own, with *Monsieur le Prince* at its head. In short, they recognised that, unless they speedily found an occasion for asserting themselves, they would come to be regarded as extinct volcanoes, objects of ridicule to their enemies and of sorrowing wonder to their adherents.

The agitation among the *rentiers* seemed to offer the chiefs of the Frondeurs the opportunity which they sought, and they spared no effort to fan the embers of discontent into the flame of a fresh revolt. In order, however, to give an appearance of legality to their proceedings, it was necessary to secure the co-operation of the Parlement; but that body seemed but little disposed to lend itself to any extreme measures, and their attempt to induce it to call an assembly of all the Chambers was unsuccessful. They therefore determined to force its hand. On December 11, Guy Joly,¹ one of the syndics of the *rentiers* and a devoted follower of Retz, was passing in his coach through the Rue des Bernardines, when a man stepped up to the carriage-door, and discharged a pistol at him. Then, without waiting to see the effect of his shot, the assassin turned and fled; while Joly, pointing to holes in his cloak and doublet, through which the ball had apparently passed, and declaring that he was suffering great pain in his left arm, ordered himself to be driven to the nearest surgeon. Here it was

¹ He was a counsellor to the Châtelet, and uncle of Claude Joly, who accompanied Madame de Longueville to Münster.

found that the arm was only bruised, and the surgeon congratulated his patient on his narrow escape from a serious injury.

As a matter of fact, the worthy Joly had never been in any danger at all. The whole affair had been an elaborate farce, concerted between him, the leaders of the Fronde, and an adventurer, named d'Estainville, who had undertaken the part of "assassin." The syndic's cloak and doublet had been shot through by d'Estainville at a private rehearsal which he and Joly had held at the house of one of the conspirators, after which his arm had been bruised by flints, in such a way as to give the appearance of a contusion caused by a bullet.

While Joly was having his wound dressed, the Frondeurs, in accordance with the plan which they had agreed upon, were endeavouring to utilise the pretended attempt at assassination to raise a revolt. Président Charton, a colleague of the injured magistrate and the Marquis de la Boulaye, a follower of Beaufort, hurried to the Palais de Justice, where Charton demanded vengeance, declaring there was a plot to murder the syndics of the *rentiers*; while La Boulaye, accompanied by a band of kindred spirits, ran through the courts of the palace and the neighbouring streets, calling on the people to arm, to defend the good citizens whom braves hired by the Government were endeavouring to assassinate. The comedy, however, met with little success. The citizens were tired of disorders excited by turbulent nobles and their followers

for their own purposes, and did not respond to La Boulaye's appeal, while some even informed him that, if they took up arms, it would be to kill him ;¹ and the Provost of the Merchants went to the Palais-Royal, to assure the Queen that the services of the citizen militia were at her disposal, in case of need.

Condé, who was with the Queen, offered to go in person to repress any attempt at insurrection ; but was dissuaded by her Majesty and Mazarin, the latter of whom told him that he was informed that groups of armed Frondeurs were collected on the Pont-Neuf and in the Place-Dauphine, who intended to revenge upon the prince, should he appear, the attempt upon Joly. Condé yielded to their remonstrances, and, on their advice, confined himself to sending his own and several other coaches filled with men wearing his livery. They were fired upon while crossing the Pont-Neuf by La Boulaye's followers, and a servant in the coach immediately behind that of *Monsieur le Prince* was severely wounded. The assailants made their escape, without being identified, as had the person who had pretended to shoot at Joly earlier in the day.

The opinions of both contemporary chroniclers and historians are divided as to the true instigators of the attempts of December 11. As it is usual to throw the responsibility of such deeds upon those who profit by them, writers have not failed to impute to Mazarin the plots which brought about the rupture between

¹ Despatch of Morosini, December 14, 1649, cited by Chéruel.

the two Frondes, whose union it was his great object to prevent, and prepared the downfall of Condé. Retz, La Rochefoucauld, and Lenet accuse the Cardinal of having planned the whole business ; but, as Chéruel points out, the evidence of Joly himself, who admits that the comedy in which he took part was concerted with the Frondeurs at a meeting held at the coadjutor's house,¹ confirmed as it is by Mazarin's *Carnets*, which were certainly not written for the perusal of posterity, are surely sufficient to acquit the Minister of any previous knowledge of that affair!² As for the attack upon Condé's retinue, much has been made of the fact that Mazarin, on his death-bed, recommended La Boulaye to Louis XIV., "as a person who had served him very well."³ And Condé's biographer, the Duc d'Aumale, cites several letters written by this person to Lionne in the following year, in one of which the writer complains that he has been forgotten by the Cardinal, and in another that he is "awaiting the proofs of his justice."⁴ But the services rendered by La Boulaye to Mazarin had no necessary connection with the affair of December 11, as La Rochefoucauld, and, after him, the Duc d'Aumale appear to imagine. The *Carnets* show that, at the beginning of the previous October, La Boulaye had been engaged with Mazarin's *âme damnée*, Zongo Ondedei, Bishop of Fréjus, in endeavouring to reconcile Beaufort to the Minister ;

¹ Guy Joly, *Mémoires*.

² *Histoire de la France pendant la minorité de Louis XIV.*

³ La Rochefoucauld.

⁴ *Histoire des Princes de Condé*.

and that he would appear to have given Ondedei some valuable information as to the feeling among the Frondeurs with regard to the proposed accommodation; and it is probably his good offices on this occasion that constituted the Cardinal's indebtedness to him.¹

Moreover, if we acquit Mazarin of having instigated the Joly comedy, as, in the face of Joly's own evidence, we can hardly refuse to do, it follows that La Boulaye must have been conspiring with the Frondeurs in the morning, and with the Cardinal in the afternoon, which seems rather too rapid a change of front, even for so adventurous a spirit as the marquis.

But, although Mazarin had had no hand in the events which we have just related, he did not scruple to take the fullest possible advantage of the weapon which they had placed in his hands. Condé was naturally furious at the outrage on the Pont-Neuf, and, disdaining to prosecute La Boulaye, who had taken to flight, he resolved to take vengeance upon the chiefs of the Frondeurs, whom he believed had set that adventurer on. On December 13, the King addressed a letter to the Parlement, ordering them to pursue the authors of the insurrection. The following day, Condé, supported by Orléans, demanded justice for his attempted assassination; and the Parlement directed

¹ "Ondedei has had an important interview with La Boulaye, who told him positively that M. de Beaufort desired to be reconciled to me; that, of all the persons who were concerned in this accommodation, the only one in whom he had implicit confidence was Madame de Montbazon."—*Carnet XIII.*

the law-officers of the Crown to institute an inquiry into the matter. Finally, on the 22nd, the *procureur-général*, Méliand, spurred on by the Court and Condé, presented his requisition, in which he demanded that Beaufort, Retz, and Broussel should be brought to trial, for having incited an insurrection in Paris, and for conspiring to assassinate the Prince de Condé.

The demand of the *procureur-général* was not signed, as was customary, by the *avocats-généraux*, Omer Talon and Bignon, who declared that, in their opinion, the witnesses they had examined were unworthy of any confidence ;¹ and, in spite of the efforts of the Chancellor, they persisted in dissociating themselves from the conclusions of their colleague. There can be little doubt that they were right, and that, unscrupulous as Beaufort and the coadjutor were, there was really nothing to connect them with an act as impolitic as it was criminal. As for Broussel, an estimable, if hot-headed, man, there does not appear to have been a shadow of suspicion against him ; he was simply paying the penalty of his apotheosis on the "Day of the Barricades."

Notwithstanding the action of the *avocats-généraux*, the majority of the Parlement voted in favour of the requisition, and the Frondeur leaders were ordered to appear and answer the charges against them.

¹ One of the witnesses, according to Retz, was a man who had been condemned to be hanged at Pau ; while another had a conviction for perjury against him.

The excitement was intense. Excited mobs surrounded the Palais de Justice shouting : “ *Vive Beaufort ! Vive le coadjuteur !* ” The court and hall of the palace were thronged with the relatives, friends, and servants of both accuser and accused. Hundreds of Condé’s followers appeared on the first day of the proceedings, with the object of overawing the judges ; while the Frondeur nobles sent even into the provinces to bring up their retainers. Both parties came armed to the teeth, and the trial threatened every moment to develop into a sanguinary *mêlée*.

The investigation proceeded but slowly ; much time was occupied in examining a charge brought by certain Frondeur judges against Molé—who had certainly shown a zeal against the accused hardly consistent with judicial impartiality—that he had received an immense bribe from the Government, and was therefore an unfit person to preside over so important a case ; and this matter was still under discussion when the court adjourned for the Christmas vacation.

Thoroughly alarmed at the position in which they found themselves, Retz and Beaufort had made repeated efforts to appease the indignation of Condé, offering to furnish him with convincing proofs of their innocence, and to enter into an alliance with him against Mazarin on practically any terms which he might choose to dictate. But the prince’s evil genius, Madame de Longueville, frustrated any hope of an accommodation. That lady had recently conceived a violent antipathy to Retz, whom she suspected of having

informed her husband of the nature of her relations with La Rochefoucauld, either out of spite at the rejection of his addresses, or, more probably, out of revenge for the manner in which her brother had tricked him and his associates in the previous autumn. M. de Longueville's own affairs of the heart rendered it difficult for him to be Argus-eyed in regard to his wife's conduct, and he had hitherto preferred to regard her connection with La Rochefoucauld as merely one of those unexceptional attachments which Madame de Sablé and the Hôtel de Rambouillet had brought into fashion ; but now he apparently felt bound to remonstrate. Madame was exasperated to the last degree against the coadjutor ; nothing but his humiliation and ruin would satisfy her ; and Condé, urged on by his sister, remained implacable.

Foiled in their efforts to propitiate Condé, Retz and Beaufort perceived that their only hope of salvation lay in a reconciliation with Mazarin. The Cardinal had for some weeks past recognised that he had much less to fear from the Frondeurs than from the greed and arrogance of the man whose support he could only secure by constant and humiliating sacrifices ; and ever since the agreement of October 2, which had alienated Retz and his friends from Condé, secret negotiations had been going on between Mazarin and the Frondeurs for an alliance against the prince.

The principal agent in these negotiations was Madame de Chevreuse, who exercised a great influence

in the counsels of the Fronde. Through her daughter,¹ who had become the mistress of Retz, she governed the coadjutor ;² through her step-mother, Madame de Montbazon, she governed Beaufort ; and she was, besides, on terms of intimate friendship with Gaston d'Orléans.

Political calculation and private resentment alike inclined Madame de Chevreuse to lend her support to Mazarin in his struggle against Condé. She was quick to recognise that the arrogant young prince would in the end be no match for the skill and astuteness of his adversary, sustained as the latter was by the inflexible resolution of the Queen ; and she accordingly decided that her own interests would be best served by an alliance with the Cardinal. Moreover, she shared the old enmity of the House of Lorraine to the Bourbons, and had not forgiven Madame de Longueville and the Dowager Princesse de Condé for their triumph over Madame

¹ Charlotte de Lorraine, Mademoiselle de Chevreuse. Madame de Motteville says of her : "Mademoiselle de Chevreuse was not really beautiful ; she had fine eyes and a beautiful mouth, and charming features ; but she was not fair enough to be beautiful." Her father, the Duc de Chevreuse, declared that her eyes were "capable of inflaming the whole earth."

² We know, from both Retz and Mazarin, that Madame de Chevreuse deliberately sacrificed her daughter's honour to her own ambitions, and connived at this shameful intrigue between a young girl and a high dignitary of the Church, in order to obtain influence over the latter. Mazarin wrote from Brühl : "She [the Duchesse de Chevreuse] told me in confidence, that she held him [the coadjutor] by means of her daughter, who conducted herself in such fashion in regard to the coadjutor as to give him her love, and wean him from that which he had for Madame de Guéménée. This she has repeated to me several times."



From an engraving by Gaitte.

ANNE DE ROHAN, DUCHESSE DE CHEVREUSE.

de Montbazon and herself at the beginning of the Regency.¹

Notwithstanding her efforts and those of her step-mother, the negotiations made comparatively little progress, for Beaufort still hesitated to compromise his popularity with the people by a reconciliation with the Cardinal ; while Retz had not yet abandoned all hope of a coalition of the two Frondes. But the institution of criminal proceedings against the duke and the coadjutor, and the zeal with which the Court urged on the prosecution, had shown them plainly that, unless they were prepared to enter into an alliance with Mazarin to crush Condé, Mazarin intended to use Condé to crush them.

After the Christmas vacation the trial of the accused Frondeurs was resumed. The first week was occupied in the investigation of the charge against Molé—a trial within a trial, so to speak—and it was finally decided that he should continue to act ; which matter disposed of, the Parlement turned to the business in hand, and the case dragged slowly on, with no immediate prospect of a decision being arrived at. In the meantime, however, Condé had succeeded in filling the cup of his offences full to the brim, by outraging the Queen, both as a sovereign and as a woman.

Aware that the chief obstacle to the despotism which he aspired to exercise at Court was the devotion of Anne to the Cardinal, the prince determined to endeavour to divert her Majesty's affection into

¹ See vol. i. p. 164, *et seq. supra*.

another channel, and selected for that purpose one of his *protégés*, the Marquis de Jarzé, "who was by nature brusque, conceited, satirical and frivolous." Jarzé, having gained over to his cause Madame de Beauvais, first waiting-woman to the Queen, addressed a declaration of love to her Majesty, which the *femme-de-chambre* deposited one evening in a conspicuous place on her royal mistress's dressing-table. Anne was so annoyed that she could not sleep all night, and next morning consulted Mazarin, who counselled her to treat Jarzé with the contempt which his presumption merited, and administer to him a public rebuff. The Queen followed his advice, and Jarzé was compelled to quit the Court, amid general ridicule. Instead of accepting the defeat of his little scheme, Condé complained bitterly of the dismissal of Jarzé; declared that "the old gallant had driven away the new;" and insisted on the discomfited "*petit-maître*" being permitted to reappear at Court, threatening, if this were not done, he would take him into his own service, and bring him every day "by his fist" to the Palais-Royal. In short, he compelled the Queen to receive the man who had affronted her, though the ladies of the Court declared with one voice that "there was no private gentlewoman even to whom in an affair of this nature one ought not to leave full liberty to act as she pleased."

As though resolved to test the Queen's forbearance to the uttermost, *Monsieur le Prince*, once more instigated by his sister, followed up this discreditable

episode by a most insolent act of defiance of the royal authority.

We have mentioned elsewhere the anxiety of the Duc de Longueville to get possession of the government of Havre, then held by the Duchesse d'Aiguillon, for her nephew, the young Duc de Richelieu, at this time a lad of eighteen. Had he realised his ambition, nothing would have been wanting but the title of Duke of Normandy, since he already held the governments of Caen, Dieppe, Rouen, and the Pont-de-l'Arche, while the other fortresses in the province were in the hands of Condé's partisans. His design, as we have seen, had been frustrated by the firmness of Mazarin; but a means of securing Havre to her brother's party was not long in presenting itself to the active mind of Madame de Longueville.

Her friend Madame de Pons, one of the heroines of the "War of the *Tabourets*," had, all unknown to the unsuspecting Madame d'Aiguillon, been for some months past angling for the hand of the young Duc de Richelieu, who was one of the richest *partis* in France, and had succeeded in bringing the susceptible youth to her feet.¹ As, however, three years had yet to elapse before the duke attained his majority, and there was not the remotest chance of either the Queen or his aunt consenting to his espousing a moderately dowered widow, nearly double his age, the lovers despaired of the consummation of their happiness. At

¹ "Madame de Pons was not in the least handsome; but she had a very pretty figure and a fine bust."—Motteville.

this moment a *dea ex machinâ* appeared, in the shape of Madame de Longueville, who indicated a way out of their difficulty.

Since it was certain that the Queen and the duke's guardian, she said, would never give their consent to the match, they must dispense with it and contract a secret marriage. She and her brothers would assist them in this; and afterwards *Monsieur le Prince*, to whom her Majesty and the Cardinal dared refuse nothing, would accord them his powerful protection, and engage to make everything right with the Court. But there was a condition attached to these good offices: Richelieu must seize Havre and hold it for the Prince de Condé.

On December 24, 1649, Richelieu left Havre, on the pretext of a hunting-party, and repaired to the Château of Trie, near Beauvais, one of the residences of the Duc de Longueville, where, two days later, he was married to his inamorata, by the almoner of the château, in the presence of Madame de Longueville, Condé, and Conti. The young duke then returned to Havre, and promptly got possession of the citadel; and, though the Queen, when informed of what had occurred, despatched an officer to command him to surrender it forthwith, threatening that, if he refused, she would cause his marriage with Madame de Pons to be annulled and that lady shut up in a convent, he remained deaf to all appeals.

This affair decided the ruin of Condé. The Queen was indignant at his open defiance of her authority;

Mazarin was profoundly alarmed at the loss of the strongest fortress in Normandy ; Madame d'Aiguillon, furious at the "abduction" of her nephew (for so Mazarin terms it) ; while Madame de Chevreuse, who had intended Richelieu as a husband for her own daughter, was scarcely less exasperated. The influence of the last-named lady sufficed to overcome the last scruples of Retz and Beaufort. The coadjutor, "disguised as a cavalier," paid several nocturnal visits to the Palais-Royal, to confer with Anne of Austria and the Cardinal ; and in a few days terms had been agreed upon, and the alliance between the Court and the Old Fronde was an accomplished fact. It was decided that Condé, Conti, and Longueville should be arrested, if possible, together ; while their party was to be crushed by the seizure of Madame de Longueville, La Rochefoucauld, Bouillon, and Turenne. In return for the quashing of the proceedings against himself and Beaufort, and for suitable compensation for them and the other leaders of their party, the coadjutor agreed to answer for the tranquillity of Paris.

It was judged necessary, however, to secure the consent of Orléans to the arrest of the princes. This presented some difficulty, since the Abbé de la Rivière had recently allied himself with the Condés, seduced by *Monsieur le Prince's* pledge to support his claims to a cardinal's hat. An intrigue of the Luxembourg, however, facilitated Mazarin's task. Gaston happened at this time to be desperately enamoured of a certain Mlle. de Saugeon, one of his wife's maids-of-honour,

who had, however, resisted his importunities, and fled for shelter to the Carmelites; and Mazarin and Madame de Chevreuse persuaded *Monsieur* that La Rivière had counselled the lady to take this step, through fear that, if she yielded to the duke's solicitations, he might find in her a dangerous rival in his patron's favour. The Cardinal brought several other accusations against the abbé, blending truth and falsehood in so skilful a manner that Orléans was completely deceived; and, convinced that his favourite was sacrificing his interests to those of Condé, promised to dismiss him from his service. The influence which the abbé had so long exercised over the feeble Gaston once destroyed, the prince, already offended by the imperious manners of Condé, and, jealous of the great power he now exercised, yielded to the instances of the Queen, the Duchesse de Chevreuse, and Mazarin, and consented to the measures they contemplated.

CHAPTER XV

Condé, Conti, and Longueville are arrested, and conveyed to the Château of Vincennes (January 18, 1650)—Reception of the news in Paris—Escape of Madame de Longueville, who flies to Rouen, to endeavour to excite Normandy to revolt—Outrage committed by her followers on a royal courier—The Parlement of Rouen refuses to aid her designs, and takes vigorous measures to repress any attempt at a revolt—Departure of Madame de Longueville from Rouen—She is refused admission to Havre, but is received into the Château of Dieppe—And enters into communication with the Archduke Leopold at Brussels—Alarm of the Dieppoïis at the arrival of the princess—Her vain efforts to gain them over to her cause—The municipal authorities call out the citizen militia to guard the town—Expedition of the Court to Normandy—Surrender of the Pont-de-l'Arche—Entry of their Majesties into Rouen—Deputation sent by the Dieppoïis to the Regent—Madame de Longueville declines to obey the Queen's orders to retire to Trie or Coulommiers—The Marquis du Plessis-Bellière is sent to Dieppe, and proceeds to invest the château—Flights of Madame de Longueville—Her perilous adventures—She escapes to Holland in disguise—Her letter to the King.

IT was on January 14, 1650, that the compact between the Court and the Frondeurs was concluded. According to Retz, it had been found necessary to initiate no less than seventeen persons into the projected *coup d'État*; and, since Mazarin was fearful lest some indiscretion on the part of one of them might ruin everything, he resolved to hasten matters. A meeting of the Council was therefore summoned for the evening of the 18th, which would furnish the Government with an opportunity of arresting all three

princes together. It was feared, however, that Longueville, who was at Chaillot, suffering from an attack of gout, might not be present. But the Cardinal sent word to him that the question of the reversion of the royal lieutenancy of Upper Normandy, which the duke had requested for a friend, the Marquis de Beuvron, governor of the Vieux-Palais at Rouen, would come up for discussion, as well as other questions on which his opinion would be invited; and this had the effect of ensuring his attendance.

On the morning of the 18th, Condé paid an unexpected visit to Mazarin, at the Palais-Royal, and entered his cabinet unannounced. Lionne happened at that very moment to be writing, at the Minister's dictation, the order for the arrest of the princes, and he had barely time to conceal the paper under some others which lay before him, before Condé had stepped up to the table. Mazarin, however, hastened to cover his subordinate's embarrassment by the effusiveness of his greeting, and then informed the prince that he had just ascertained the hiding-place of Des Coutures, one of the syndics of the *rentiers*, who was accused of having excited the disturbances of December 11. As the apprehension of this person might cause some trouble, and an attempt be made to rescue him from the hands of justice, he considered it advisable that two or three companies of the Household troops should be requisitioned to conduct him safely to prison. Condé offered no objection, and at once signed orders for the gendarmes of the King's Guard and the Queen's light

cavalry to be in readiness that evening to escort a prisoner to Vincennes. The former were to be stationed under the command of Miossens, La Rochefoucauld's former rival for Madame de Longueville's affections,¹ at the Porte de Richelieu, the latter, at the little gate of the Palais-Royal garden. Then, little thinking that the prisoner for whose security these preparations were to be made was none other than himself, he took his departure, leaving the Cardinal to chuckle over the cunning way in which he had succeeded in trapping his enemy, since the calling out of the gendarmes and light cavalry would certainly have aroused suspicion, had not the order been given by Condé himself.

The meeting of the Council had been called for six o'clock in the evening. Condé arrived early, and made his way to the Queen's apartments, where Anne, who had thought it advisable to feign a slight indisposition, was in bed. With her was the Dowager Princesse de Condé, who enjoyed the privilege of being admitted, even when her Majesty did not see any one. Her visit at such a time had caused the Queen much embarrassment, which was not lessened by the arrival of *Monsieur le Prince*. However, with that dissimulation of which she was so great a mistress, she conversed with them for some minutes on indifferent topics, and then dismissed them. This was the last occasion on which Condé was destined to see his mother, who died less than twelve months later.

¹ See p. 235 *supra*.

On taking leave of the Queen, the prince made his way to the Council-chamber, where Mazarin, Brienne, the Chancellor Séguier, the Abbé de la Rivière, and Servien were already assembled. The Duc d'Orléans did not appear, thinking it prudent to be seized with a diplomatic illness ; but the other members of the Council arrived in succession, among them the Prince de Conti and the Duc de Longueville, the latter being the last to come in. Mazarin immediately sent to inform the Regent that the Council was awaiting her ; it was the signal agreed upon. Leaving her bed, Anne of Austria gave the necessary orders to Guitaut, captain of her guards. Then, taking the young King, to whom she had as yet said nothing of what had been decided on, into her oratory, she informed him that the princes were about to be arrested, and bade him kneel down and pray for the success of the enterprise, "of which she awaited the termination with emotion and a beating heart."¹

After despatching his message to the Queen, the Cardinal turned to the Abbé de la Rivière. "I have a word to say to you," said he ; and he led him into his cabinet. The passage outside was full of guards, at sight of which La Rivière turned pale and inquired, in trembling tones, if it were intended to arrest him. The Cardinal reassured him, and then informed him of what was about to take place. When the abbé understood that Orléans had agreed to the arrest of the princes without consulting him, he knew that his power

¹ Motteville.

was gone. "I am a ruined man with my master," he exclaimed.¹

In the meanwhile, Guitaut had entered the Council-chamber and approached Condé. "What do you want with me, Guitaut?" inquired the prince, with a smile, imagining that he had come to request some favour of him for one of his relatives, for the family were *protégés* of his. "I have orders to arrest you, Monsieur, together with the Prince de Conti and M. de Longueville," replied Guitaut, in a low tone.

For a moment, Condé believed that he was jesting, but, convinced, by the officer's manner, that he was in earnest, bade him "in God's name, return to the Queen and say that he requested to speak with her." Then, approaching the group of counsellors, none of whom had overheard what had passed, he said: "Well, my brothers, we are arrested! I confess this astonishes me, who have always served the King so faithfully, and who believed myself assured of the friendship of M. le Cardinal."

The two princes were confounded. The Chancellor, feigning a like astonishment, offered to go and find the Regent, and was followed by Servien. They did not return, but presently Guitaut reappeared, and informed Condé that the Queen had commanded him to execute her orders. "Very well!" answered

¹ He was, however, far from a ruined man in a financial sense, since, in the six years of his favour, he had contrived to amass a fortune of over two million livres.

Condé, who had by this time recovered his composure, "but whither are you going to conduct me? I beg you into some warm place."

Guitaut made the princes descend by a secret staircase, and conducted them through the garden, Longueville, "who had a bad leg, and did not find it agreeable to make use of it on this occasion," limping painfully along, supported by two soldiers. At the gate, they found a coach in readiness, guarded by an escort of the Queen's light cavalry. By the light of the torches which they held, Condé recognised several men who had fought by his side in Flanders. "This is not the battle of Lens," said he to one of them; but discipline was stronger than their devotion to the general who had led them to victory, and there was no reply. The prisoners and Guitaut drove to the Porte de Richelieu, where Miossens awaited them, at the head of the gendarmes of the King's Guard, in conformity with the order which Condé himself had signed that morning.

Alighting from the coach which had brought them from the Palais-Royal, the princes entered another, which set off at a gallop towards Vincennes. Darkness had fallen, however, and the roads were in a bad condition. Suddenly the coach was overturned, and its occupants found themselves in the road. Condé would have escaped, but was stopped by the leader of the escort. "Ah! Miossens, if you would . . .!" said the prince. "Monseigneur," replied the officer, firmly, "everywhere else I am your servant: here

"I am only the servant of the King." And he laid his hand on the butt of his pistol.

After much labour, the coach was raised from the ground and repaired, and towards nine o'clock they arrived at Vincennes. In order to avoid all suspicion of what was intended, no orders had been sent for their reception, and neither supper nor beds had been prepared; and they might have gone hungry to the trusses of straw which were their only couches, had not the Maréchal de Rantzau, who was also a prisoner, sent them some bottles of wine and the remains of his own supper.

The arrest of the princes was carried out with so much secrecy, that their people were still waiting for them in the courtyard of the Palais-Royal, when a messenger was sent to inform them that their masters were in the Château of Vincennes. An attempt was made by some of Condé's partisans, headed by Montmorency-Boutteville, afterwards the Maréchal de Luxembourg, to excite a riot, by spreading a report that it was Beaufort who had been carried off; but, warned of this, the duke rode through the streets, followed by servants bearing torches to show their master, and the tumult speedily subsided. Such, indeed, was the unpopularity of Condé, owing to his conduct in the recent war and his prosecution of those idols of the populace, Beaufort and Retz, that the people, so far from resenting his arrest, hailed it with acclamations, and bonfires were lighted everywhere, round which gathered excited crowds,

singing and dancing and discharging their rusty arquebuses in the air.

Nor were these rejoicings confined to the city. The salons of the Palais-Royal were thronged with nobles and gentlemen of the Fronde, who had come to offer their felicitations to the Regent and Mazarin. "On entering the Queen's apartments," writes Madame de Motteville, "I was astonished to behold so many new faces. It was completely filled by the Frondeurs. Each held his sword in his hand (sheathed, however), and all were vowing that they were good servants to the King, and were about to be defenders of the Queen and of the power of the State."

The Queen and Mazarin appear to have been in some doubt whether to arrest the two Princesses de Condé, with the little Duc d'Enghien, then between six and seven years old. "But considering," says Lenet, "that the dowager was a princess of a timid and indolent disposition, and that the young princess was without friends, without money, and without experience, and not very well satisfied with the conduct of the prince her husband, they had decided to merely order them to retire to Chantilly." In sparing the younger princess, as we shall presently see, they committed a grave error.

If, however, the Court were unwilling to take any steps against the wife and mother of Condé, they had no hesitation at all with regard to his sister, who had taken a more prominent part than any one in the New

Fronde. It was she who had excited the ambition and haughty pretensions of *Monsieur le Prince*, and done everything in her power to embitter him against the Cardinal. It was at her solicitation that he had insisted on the bestowal of the Pont-de-l'Arche on Longueville, demanded the *tabourets* for Mesdames de Marsillac and de Pons, and, finally, in open defiance of the royal authority, concluded the marriage of the latter lady and the young Duc de Richelieu, and wrested Havre from the Government. The Queen and Mazarin both felt that, unless the duchess shared the fate of her husband and brothers, their work would be but half-accomplished ; and no sooner was she informed that the princes were on their way to Vincennes, than Anne despatched La Vrillière, one of the Secretaries of State, to the Hôtel de Longueville, to summon her, in the name of their Majesties, to the Palais-Royal, where it was intended to arrest her.

La Vrillière did not find the duchess at home, she having gone to spend the evening at the house of her friend the Princess Palatine.¹ Here her servants presently came to inform her of the arrest of the princes, upon which "she swooned away, and no one seemed more moved by the disaster than she was."² Upon coming to herself, she set off at once to the Hôtel de Condé to see her mother, whom she found in company with the Comte de Brienne, who had been sent by the Queen to inform her of what had occurred, and to communicate to her the order to retire to Chantilly

¹ Anne de Gonzague.

² Motteville.

with her daughter-in-law and grandson. The Minister, however, who was a kind-hearted and rather timid man, had not yet succeeded in summoning up sufficient courage to perform this unpleasant duty ; and when Madame de Longueville entered the room, exclaiming : “ Ah ! Madame, my brothers ! ” the old princess, who had seen Condé in friendly conversation with the Queen only an hour or two before, and never dreamed that he had been arrested, cried out, in an agony of fear : “ Alas ! what is it ? My sons, my children—are they dead ? What has happened to them ? ” Brienne thereupon hastened to reassure her, by telling her that her sons were well, but that the Queen had caused them to be arrested, after which he handed her her Majesty’s orders exiling her and her daughter-in-law to Chantilly.

La Vrillière now arrived in quest of Madame de Longueville, with the Queen’s orders for her to repair immediately to the Palais-Royal. The duchess, who had not the least doubt that she too was to be arrested, after a consultation with her mother, answered that she would obey her Majesty’s command ; and, in company with the Princess Palatine, entered the coach which had brought them to the Hôtel de Condé, as though with the intention of proceeding to the Palais-Royal. But, instead of going thither, they drove to a little house belonging to “ Madame Palatine,” in the Faubourg Saint-Germain, whither Madame de Longueville at once sent to summon her step-daughter, La Rochefoucauld, and other friends. As the result

of their deliberations, it was unanimously decided that the duchess should fly to Normandy, and endeavour to raise a revolt in that province in favour of the imprisoned princes ; and that very night she started for Rouen, in a coach which the Princess Palatine had lent her, accompanied by Mlle. de Longueville, La Rochefoucauld, the Marquis de Beuvron, Saint-Ibal,¹ the poet Sarrasin, and several of her waiting-women.

In the early summer of 1648, the princess had, with her husband, paid a visit to Normandy, where, as the wife of its popular governor, she had been received everywhere with enthusiasm. The poet Antoine Halley had dedicated to her charming Latin verses, and the grave Pierre du Bosc, the celebrated Huguenot minister of Caen, one of the most eloquent speakers of his time, had addressed to her a most flattering harangue, in which he declared that "it was recognised that all that rumour had declared her Highness to be, was only a feeble sketch of what she actually was," adding that his fellow-townsmen "would not flinch when her service was in question."² Moreover, the prominent part which Normandy had played in the Parliamentary Fronde, the docility which the Parlement of Rouen had always shown to the wishes of the Duc de Longueville, the great obligations under which that prince had placed many of the leading nobles of the province, and his immense popularity with the people, all encouraged

¹ See p. 222 *supra*.

² *La Vie de Pierre du Bosc, ministre du saint-Évangile* (Rotterdam, 1679).

Madame de Longueville to believe that, when she presented herself among them and implored their aid in obtaining the liberation of her husband, the Normans would rise almost as one man. It was therefore a resolute and hopeful, if very weary, princess who, after travelling all through the night, entered the Vieux-Palais, at Rouen, the following day.

The success of this hazardous journey, however, depended largely on the attitude adopted by the Parlement of Normandy ; and, unhappily for Madame de Longueville, the disposition of that body was now very different from what it had been twelve months earlier. During the Parliamentary Fronde, it had declared for the insurgents, because, like the Parlement of Paris, it had grievances of its own which called for redress. These, or at any rate the most important of them, had been removed by the Government at the time of the Peace of Rueil ; and, though many of its members resented the arrest of Longueville, it felt that that was hardly a sufficient reason for again taking up arms and plunging the whole of Normandy, which had suffered greatly during the late revolt, into the horrors of a new civil war. Besides, the chances of a successful rising were now infinitely less than they had been in 1648. Then, the Court had been too much occupied with its endeavours to reduce the rebellious capital to submission to have much attention to spare for the revolted provinces ; whereas, on this occasion, Paris was tranquil, and the Government consequently at liberty to take effective measures to suppress any dis-

orders which might arise elsewhere. Finally, Mazarin had skilfully anticipated the action of Madame de Longueville, and, on the very day of the arrest of the princes, had assured Myron, a counsellor of the Parlement of Rouen, then in Paris, that it was the intention of the Government to observe most scrupulously all the promises it had made that body at the Peace of Rueil ; and the Parlement, informed by special courier of this good news, had hastened to reply that the King might count on its unquestioning obedience to his commands. It will therefore be perceived that both interest and honour prohibited the Parlement of Rouen from giving any assistance to Madame de Longueville ; and, on the other hand, enjoined upon it to exert all its influence to maintain order in Normandy.¹

An incident which occurred during the princess's hurried journey to Rouen served to convince the Parlement that this influence must be exercised without delay. At Écouis, the party had been overtaken by a royal courier, bearing despatches from the King to the Parlement informing it of the arrest of the princes, and his reasons for this step. To the courier's appeal to "make way in the King's name," Madame de Longueville's followers replied by seizing his horse's head, dragging him out of the saddle, and robbing him of his despatches, after which they carried him with them as a prisoner into Rouen, and locked him up in a room at an inn called the "Croix Blanche."

Having broken open and perused the King's des-

¹ Floquet, *Histoire du Parlement de Normandie*.

patches, Madame de Longueville sent them, with her compliments, to the Parlement, which, as may be imagined, was highly incensed at such an insult to the royal authority and its own dignity. Officers of the Chamber were at once sent to the "Croix Blanche," to liberate the imprisoned courier and bring him to the Palais de Justice, where he immediately identified the despatches as those which had been taken from him at Écouis.

While he was still being questioned, the Marquis de Beuvron arrived, to invoke the assistance of the Parlement, on behalf of Madame de Longueville. He met, however, with a very cold reception from the assembled magistrates, indignant at hearing him demand the protection of the law after just participating in so gross a violation of it. Nor did they confine their hostility to declining to countenance the designs of the princess and her followers, but showed that it was their intention to use their authority to check any attempt at insurrection. In virtue of his office as governor of the Vieux-Palais, Beuvron, in the absence of the Duc de Longueville, had command of the citizen militia, and had already taken advantage of this to place several companies under arms. But, to his intense mortification, the *procureur-général*, Courtin, now informed him, on behalf of the Parlement, that, since he and Madame de Longueville had quitted the Court without taking leave of their Majesties or receiving their orders, and had travelled together to Normandy with such haste, although the Parlement

desired to believe that their intentions were not suspicious, it had decided, until it had received fresh orders from his Majesty, to keep the direction of the armed force of the city in its own hands.

This decision on the part of the Parlement was a severe blow to the princess's plans ; but she was not easily discouraged, and "did everything in her power to make the capital of the province revolt."¹ All that day, Rouen was in a state of commotion ; the partisans of the imprisoned governor, armed to the teeth, paraded the streets, exchanging glances of defiance with those whom they suspected of being on the side of the Government ; agents of the duchess hurried hither and thither, using every persuasion to induce the populace to rise on her behalf ; and the house of one Romé de Fresquienne was converted into a kind of arsenal, from which bundles of muskets and pikes were continually being transferred to the quays, where they were placed in boats and conveyed down the river to the Pont-de-l'Arche, which it had been decided to place in a state of defence.

The Parlement, however, resolved to suppress with a firm hand all attempts at revolt, now adopted vigorous measures, and, on the demand of the *procureur-général*, issued decrees prohibiting "all persons, of whatever quality and condition they might be, from holding any meetings or assembling together with arms in their hands, without the express order of the King, *under pain of death* ;" enjoining the citizens to apprehend the

¹ Montglat, *Mémoires*.

first person who should dare to commit an act of violence, and directing every innkeeper in the city to furnish the authorities of his quarter with the names of all strangers who came to lodge with him, "*of whatever quality and condition they might be,*" after which the police were empowered to interrogate them as to the business which had brought them to the city, and report to the Parlement; while officers were sent to the quays to search every boat and vessel there, and to seize all weapons found on them. At the same time, it sent a deputation to Paris, to reiterate to the King its determination to spare no endeavour to keep the province in its allegiance to his Majesty.

In the face of the resolute attitude of the Parlement, Madame de Longueville perceived that she must abandon all hope of making Rouen a centre of resistance to the royal authority, and seek without delay some other base for her operations. Sainte-Aulaire states that, "on the rumour of the approach of a royal army, the people of Rouen rose, and the duchess was obliged to quit the Vieux-Palais and take to flight."¹ But, as we shall see, it was not until a fortnight later, when the lady's intrigues had reached a point when it was no longer possible to tolerate them, that the Government decided to take active measures against her; and it would appear that, so far from driving her away, the populace witnessed her departure with regret. "She shed tears and, among the people, tears

¹ *Histoire de la Fronde.*

were shed also.”¹ Although Rouen had failed her, the princess was still very far from despairing of success, as nearly all the fortresses of Normandy : Caen, Cherbourg, Saint-Lo, Granville, the Pont-de-l’Arche, and Havre were in the hands of her party. It was to the last-named town to which she made her way, confident that she would receive a hearty welcome and loyal support from the young Duc de Richelieu and her old friend Anne du Vigeon, whose marriage, as we have seen, she had been mainly instrumental in bringing about. But here again Mazarin had forestalled her. Well aware of the danger of permitting the princess and her followers to obtain a footing in Havre, he had at once despatched thither the Marquis de Termes, an old and valued friend of the House of Richelieu, charged to inform the duke that, if he would close his gates against Madame de Longueville and keep the town in its allegiance to the King, his marriage should be duly ratified, and the duchess received at Court with all the honours befitting her rank ; but that, on the other hand, if he showed the slightest hesitation in performing his duty, the Regent would continue to refuse to recognise the union. The consequence was that Richelieu, urged on by his ambitious wife, who was but little disposed to allow any sentiments of gratitude or friendship to stand between her and the favours of the Court, declined to admit Madame de Longueville,

¹ *Apologie particulière pour M. le Duc de Longueville* (Amsterdam, 1650), cited by Floquet,

on the ground that the feeling both among the officers of the garrison and the city authorities was too hostile to the designs of the princess for him to venture to ignore it.

Excluded from Rouen and repulsed from Havre, Madame de Longueville, whose determination seemed only to be strengthened by the obstacles which she was encountering, next turned to Dieppe. Here she was more successful. The governor, Montigny,¹ a staunch adherent of her husband, received her with every protestation of devotion, and immediately ordered apartments to be prepared for her and her followers in the château.

Mistress of the citadel, which completely commanded the town and the harbour, Madame de Longueville, whose resentment against the Court had not been diminished by the checks she had experienced at Rouen and Havre, threw scruples to the winds, and lost no time in despatching a courier to Brussels, to beg the Archduke Leopold to send her troops, money and ships ;² after which she turned her attention to the townsfolk, whose goodwill, or at least their neutrality, it was above all things of importance to ensure.

Now, the good people of Dieppe had been for generations noted for their unflinching loyalty to their kings. In 1589, Dieppe had been one of the first

¹ He had formerly been captain of the Duc de Longueville's guards, and had had command of the escort which accompanied the duchess to Munster, in 1646.

² *Déclaration royale, du 9 Mars, 1650, contre la duchesse de Longueville, le maréchal de Turenne, etc.*

Norman towns to recognise the authority of Henri IV. ; its inhabitants—men, women, and children—had turned out to labour in the trenches when the Béarnais defended it so gallantly against the League in the autumn of that year, and many a stout burgher had fought by his side at Arques and Ivry. These glorious traditions, perpetuated as they were by the special privileges with which the services of the town to the House of Bourbon had been rewarded, made the Dieppoise one of the most loyal communities in the whole of France ; and it was therefore with feelings of indignation and alarm that they witnessed the arrival of Madame de Longueville and her suite, and the readiness with which Montigny had placed the château in her hands.

The municipal authorities forthwith summoned a meeting of the principal inhabitants at the Hôtel de Ville, to consider what measures should be adopted in so difficult a situation ; and, notwithstanding the danger to which they were exposed from the cannon of the citadel, it was resolved to do everything possible to prevent the princess and Montigny making themselves masters of the town, which was evidently their intention.

The authorities accordingly ordered three companies of the citizen militia to arm themselves and take up a position immediately below the château, to cut off all communication between it and the town. But scarcely had the order been issued, than Madame de Longueville was observed descending from the château, accompanied by the governor, and several other

gentlemen. The princess proceeded to the Hôtel de Ville; where she made a long speech to those assembled, "to prove to them that her intentions contained nothing contrary to the King's service; that her only desire, in forming a union of the towns which were interesting themselves in favour of the princes, was to facilitate their liberation, which was but justice, since they had only been made prisoners of the State, because they had served it against the foreigner Mazarin, who had no intention but to ruin it; that, in short, she asked nothing of them, except their assistance in obtaining the princes' liberation, and that they would prove themselves the most ungrateful of men, if they refused this service to the memory of the Comte de Dunois and his descendants, who had rendered them so many good offices."¹

To this harangue, Martin, the senior sheriff, replied that the citizens of Dieppe deeply regretted the detention of the princes, but that their town belonged to the King, and that they earnestly entreated the princess to ask nothing of them which might appear contrary to his Majesty's service. In all else, he said, they were her Highness's most humble and devoted servants. Then, turning to the governor, he added, "with the noble assurance of virtue": "Monsieur, you are aware of our love for the King; do not compel us to give you proofs of it."

Much chagrined at their failure to overcome the

¹ *Mémoires chronologiques pour servir à l'histoire de Dieppe* (Paris, 1785).



From an engraving by Regnesson after the drawing by Chauveau.

ANNE GENEVIÈVE DE BOURBON, DUCHESSE DE LONGUEVILLE.

loyal scruples of the Dieppois, Madame de Longueville and her escort returned to the château, passing on their way the three companies of the citizen militia, which had just taken up the post which had been assigned them. At sight of them, Montigny inquired angrily of the officer in command why he had placed the men under arms without his orders. To which the latter answered that, "since the governor had abandoned the service of the King, he no longer possessed the right to issue orders."

Later in the day, two more companies were called out, and every approach to the town so carefully guarded as to render any attempt on the part of the garrison to effect an entrance impossible. The only means of reducing the citizens to submission was a bombardment; but to so extreme a measure Madame de Longueville was naturally reluctant to resort, and, consequently, she had no alternative but to await with as much patience as she could command the arrival of the Spaniards from Flanders.

In the meanwhile, the deputation from the Parlement of Normandy had visited Paris to inform the Regent of the resistance it had offered to the machinations of Madame de Longueville, and to assure her of its fidelity and of that of the whole population of Rouen. At the same time, the deputies represented that the Marquis de Chamboy, who had been appointed by Longueville deputy-governor of the Pont-de-l'Arche, had declared for the party of the princes, and was terrorizing the whole surrounding country; for which

reason, they begged that the fortress should be destroyed, offering to assist with troops and money. This disquieting intelligence was quickly followed by the news that Madame de Longueville had entered the Château of Dieppe, and was not only in constant communication with several towns in the province, but had despatched an envoy to Brussels. Upon which, Mazarin, notwithstanding the severity of the winter, and the fact that typhus fever was raging in Rouen, determined that the Court should proceed thither as speedily as possible and restore order.

Accordingly, on February 1, their Majesties left the capital, accompanied by nearly the whole Court, including *Mademoiselle*, who tells us that she experienced "real grief at thus quitting Paris, at a season which was more suitable for dancing than for travelling."¹ During the absence of the Regent, it had been decided that the Duc d'Orléans should remain in Paris, furnished with the most extensive powers; but Mazarin took care to leave behind, also, his devoted henchman, Michel Le Tellier, with instructions to keep a very watchful eye upon his Royal Highness. As a hostage for the good behaviour of the Frondeurs, the Cardinal carried off with him the Marquis de Noirmoutier, one of the most prominent members of that party.

The troops which accompanied the King consisted merely of forty men of the light cavalry, thirty-eight guards, and as many gendarmes, commanded by the

¹ Mlle. de Montpensier, *Mémoires*.

Comte d'Harcourt, which seemed a very inadequate force for the réduction of the strongholds in the hands of the partisans of the princes, the principal object of the journey. "But," observes Madame de Motteville, "the authority of legitimate power often equals the strength of the largest battalions."

Before leaving Paris, Mazarin had sent orders to the Marquis de Chamboy to surrender the Pont-de-l'Arche to the royal troops; to which that nobleman replied that the garrison were prepared to perish to the last man in its defence. However, his actions scarcely corresponded to the boldness of his words; for, at the news of Harcourt's approach, the inhabitants of the place, who had suffered much from the tyranny of their governor, flew to arms, and, having secured several pieces of cannon, prepared to bombard the château. Thereupon, the valiant Chamboy agreed to surrender, on condition that he should be paid two thousand pistoles by way of indemnity for the expenses to which he had been put, and be permitted to march out with the honours of war. These demands were granted; and one of the strongest fortresses in Normandy fell without a blow being struck.

On the previous day (February 15), their Majesties had made their entry into Rouen, where the sight of their little sovereign, who had braved the inclemency of the weather and the danger of contagion, in order to maintain his authority, excited the wildest enthusiasm among the population. "Never did people," wrote Mazarin to Le Tellier, "testify more joy at the sight

of its prince. We imagined that all Rouen was out of doors, and, nevertheless, all the shops and windows were full of people ; and, apart from this demonstration, bonfires were blazing all night, and all the citizens passed it in drinking to the health of their Majesties, and neither slept themselves nor permitted others to rest, on account of the continual shouting and signs of rejoicing in which they indulged.”¹

In accordance with the ancient custom of the kings of France of delivering all prisoners “on the day of their first and joyous entry into their good towns,” all who were confined in the prison at Rouen were set at liberty. Among those who thus recovered their freedom, was Henri Stuart, Sieur de Bonair, historiographer to the King, and one of the twenty-five gentlemen of the Garde Ecossaise, who had been imprisoned on an unfounded suspicion of being the author of a disgraceful libel on Anne of Austria, entitled, *Jézabel*. Stuart celebrated his liberation by writing an interesting account of the royal visit to Normandy.²

The Court only remained a fortnight at Rouen, but the time was well employed ; since, in rapid succession, Havre, Caen, Saint-Lo, Cherbourg, and Granville submitted to the royal authority, their governors being, in most cases, replaced by devoted servants of the Crown. The day after the entry of the Court, a deputation

¹ Despatch of February 6, 1650, published by Chéruef.

² *Récit véritable de ce qui s'est fait et passé en toute la Normandie à la réception et magnificence royale de Leurs Majestés.*

from the inhabitants of Dieppe arrived, to acquaint their Majesties with the state of affairs in that town, and “to beg for a leader and some officers to command them, with the assurance that they would obey them in all things and defend them at the peril of their lives.”¹

Their request was readily granted, and the Marquis du Plessis-Bellière, who had distinguished himself in several campaigns, was directed to proceed to Dieppe. As, however, Madame de Longueville had given out that her only reason for retiring to Dieppe was to seek a place of refuge from the enmity of Mazarin, Anne of Austria sent orders to her to retire to Trie or Coulommiers, whichever she preferred, promising that she should remain there unmolested. But the princess, who “felt herself capable of great enterprises,” excused herself from obeying her Majesty’s command, on the plea of illness, and sent a long letter to the Queen complaining of the persecutions of the Cardinal. Mlle. de Longueville, however, who had always entertained a strong dislike to her step-mother—a feeling which she is at no pains to conceal in her *Mémoires*—and who had besides grown somewhat weary of the rôle of princess-errant, hastened to avail herself of the Queen’s offer; and, in defiance of the orders of the duchess, retired to Coulommiers, where she passed the remainder of her father’s imprisonment “in the ease of an innocent idleness.”²

¹ Mazarin to Le Tellier, February 8, 1650.

² Motteville.

A few days earlier, La Rochefoucauld, believing, or feigning to believe, that Madame de Longueville was at length in safety, had departed, to devote himself to the congenial task of stirring up disaffection in Poitou ; but, on the other hand, the duchess was joined by the Marquis de Chamboy and several officers from the garrison of the Pont-de-l'Arche. The princess now summoned the sheriffs to the château, and used every persuasion to induce them to deliver up the town. Finding them inexorable, she tried the effect of threats, and declared that she would order the cannon of the citadel to bombard the town and raze it to the ground, if they persisted in their contumacy. To which Martin made answer that he had been charged by the townsfolk to assure her Highness that "they would rather lose property and lives than be unfaithful."

Madame de Longueville did not dare to put her threat into execution ; but that night a number of gentlemen of the Pays de Caux, who had come to offer her their services, made an attempt to surprise the advance-guard of their citizens. The latter, however, were on the alert, and received their assailants with so sharp a fire, that they were glad to retreat to the shelter of the château.

Next day, Du Plessis-Bellièvre arrived, accompanied by Abraham du Quesne (who, in later years, became so celebrated), the Comte de Saint-Aignan, and several other officers, and took immediate measures to surround the château. He placed 400 men between it and the sea, sent 300 others, under the command of Saint-

Aignan, to blockade it on the land side, while the rest of the citizen militia remained under arms, in readiness to hasten to their assistance should the garrison venture on a sortie.

Fearful of being taken prisoner—for the garrison would appear to have been but little inclined for armed resistance to the officers sent by the Queen ; while the château was, besides, but ill-provisioned for a siege, and must sooner or later be reduced by famine—Madame de Longueville resolved to make her escape. Foreseeing the present conjuncture, she had already engaged a ship, commanded by one Daniel, to carry her and her followers, if occasion arose, to the Netherlands ; and this vessel now lay at anchor in the roadstead. Accordingly, on the night of February 8–9, accompanied by Chamboy, Saint-Ibal, the poet Sarrasin, La Roque—the captain of Condé's guards—and a few other gentlemen, and those of her women who had the courage not to desert her, she quitted the château by a postern-door which had been left unwatched by the besiegers, and descended to the bottom of the cliff on which the fortress stands, where she had arranged to embark. But alas ! Du Plessis-Bellièvre had got wind of her intentions, and the beach was occupied by the citizen militia.

Fortunately, owing to the darkness of the night, the princess and her party were able to withdraw unperceived, and, after walking two leagues, they reached a little creek (probably Ailly), where they found two fishing-smacks. One of these Madame de

Longueville endeavoured to hire, to convey the fugitives to the ship which was lying off Dieppe ; but the wind, which had been rising all day, had now increased to a gale, and for some time both skippers refused to put out to sea. At length, tempted by the munificence of her offers and pitying her distress, one of them agreed to make the attempt, and a stalwart sailor took the lady in his arms to carry her to the boat. But the united strength of wind and sea were such that he was unable to hold his burden, and allowed the princess to fall into the water, from which she was with difficulty rescued and dragged almost senseless to the beach.

Nothing daunted by this mishap, Madame de Longueville had no sooner revived than she wished to make another attempt ; but to this neither entreaties nor promises could persuade the fishermen to consent. Fortunately, horses were procurable, on which the princess and her women rode *en croupe* to the hamlet of Pourville, where they were able to warm their shivering limbs, and obtain the rest they so sorely needed, at the house of the curé of the parish, who did everything possible for the comfort of his unexpected guests, of whose identity he for some time remained in ignorance. Madame de Longueville never forgot this terrible night, nor the hospitality she received from this good man, to whose kindness she probably owed her life. When the Fronde was over, and she had recovered her property, she determined to show her gratitude by a benefaction in favour of the poor of Pourville. Accordingly, she charged the

bailiff of her estate of Hautetot, which was within a short distance of Pourville, to send each year on February 9, the anniversary of her perilous adventures, two hundred large bundles of firewood to the curé, for distribution among the poor of his parish.

The princess and her companions remained at Pourville until the following afternoon, when, having despatched one of their party to Dieppe, to bid the vessel she had engaged proceed to a little harbour, where Madame de Longueville intended to embark as soon as darkness fell, they again made their way to the coast. The vessel duly arrived, and the duchess was about to go on board, when her messenger came galloping back from Dieppe, crying out that they were betrayed. Since their departure, the previous night, Du Plessis-Bellièvre had sent Du Quesne to the captain of their ship, to offer him a large sum of money if he would deliver Madame de Longueville into his hands ; and, had she gone on board, she would have been immediately arrested.

After this fresh disappointment, the unfortunate lady remained in concealment for more than a fortnight, moving from one hiding-place to another, according to the intelligence she received of the movements of her enemies, who were sparing no pains to discover her whereabouts. At the end of that time, she sent a messenger to Havre, who gave out that he came on behalf of a gentleman in danger of arrest for having killed his opponent in a duel, to engage a ship to convey him to Holland. The captain of a Dutch

vessel offered his services, and Madame de Longueville, having disguised herself in men's clothes, proceeded to Havre, made her way on board without her identity being suspected, and reached Rotterdam in safety.

Here, "having rid herself of the humiliating marks of her misfortune [*i.e.* male attire] and assumed the majestic apparel which so well became her,"¹ she sent to inform the Prince and Princess of Orange of her arrival. Their Highnesses received her with the utmost kindness, and offered her an asylum at The Hague. But she declined their hospitality, as she had resolved to proceed to Stenai,² whither Turenne and Condé's faithful friend and confidant, La Moussaye, had fled after the arrest of the princes, and which had now become the principal rampart of their party.

Before leaving Rotterdam, however, Madame de Longueville, aware of the importance of conciliating public opinion, drew up a justification of her conduct, in the form of a letter to Louis XIV., wherein she recounts all that had happened to her since she had been forced to leave Paris; posing throughout as a victim of Mazarin's enmity, attributing all her actions to

¹ Bourgoing de Villefore, *la Véritable Vie d'Anne-Genève de Bourbon, Duchesse de Longueville*.

² Situated in the Barrois, on the right bank of the Meuse. It was the first fortified place in the valley of the Meuse after Sedan. The town had successively belonged to the comtes de Rethel, the ducs de Bouillon, the bishops of Verdun, the counts of Luxembourg, and the dukes of Lorraine. In 1632, by the Treaty of Vic, Charles III. of Lorraine gave it to Louis XIII. for four years, as a military dépôt; and, in 1641, it was definitely added to France, by the Treaty of Saint-Germain. The government of Stenai, together with that of the Clermontois, had been conferred on Condé in 1648. (See p. 303 *supra*.)

necessity alone, and demanding justice for herself and her family. Numerous copies of this epistle were printed in Holland, and clandestinely introduced into France ; but they were so rigorously suppressed that the letter appears to have been quite unknown to historians, until a copy was discovered by Victor Cousin, in an old collection of *Mazarinades* for the year 1650, and published by him in the *Journal des Savants*, in November, 1652.

MADAME DE LONGUEVILLE TO LOUIS XIV.

“ SIRE,

“ As I doubt not that the injustice of my enemies has misrepresented to your Majesty my departure from the kingdom, and that this malice is not unwilling to avail itself of this pretext to increase, by some new persecution, the misfortunes of our House, I have believed myself obliged to render to you¹ an account of the reasons which compelled me to quit France, in order to prevent your goodness being intercepted in this matter by the usual artifices of the Cardinal Mazarin ; and that this man, who has neglected nothing which bad faith and violence were able to suggest to constrain me either to suffer imprisonment or to leave my country, should not be in a position to make my retirement pass for a voluntary action on my part. That is why, Sire, I entreat your Majesty to

¹ Madame de Longueville uses the third person when referring to the King, but, in our translation, we have, to avoid confusion, adopted the second person.

permit me to inform you of the truth, that, by a sincere account of my conduct, I may make you understand that it was only when reduced to the last extremity that I determined to quit the kingdom ; and that I did not choose a banishment which afflicts me grievously, save when I had come near to falling into the hands of an enemy, so much the more dangerous and the more implacable, in that he had just conducted himself with the last degree of violence towards persons to whom every one was aware that he was under the greatest obligation.

“ As soon as the Cardinal Mazarin learned that my brothers and my husband had arrived at the Bois de Vincennes, being unwilling to leave a single member of our House unpersecuted by him, he sent me, in the Queen’s name, an order to repair to the Palais-Royal ; and I was warned, at the same moment, that it was intended to arrest me there. Nevertheless, since it was difficult for me to imagine that his hatred could extend so far as myself, I contented myself with retiring to the house of one of my friends [the Princess Palatine], to inform myself of the truth. But, having ascertained immediately afterwards, that he had caused the Hôtel de Condé to be invested by several companies of the Guards, and that he was determined to employ force to snatch me from the arms of Madame my mother, I perceived that I was no longer in safety in Paris ; and I formed the design of coming to Normandy, and proceeded to Rouen. On my arrival, I declared to the gentlemen of the Parlement and the municipal authori-

ties that nothing was further from my thoughts than the desire to bring the least trouble into the province, and that I had only come to seek safety there, since I was unable to choose a more suitable place than that of which my husband was governor, and where the greater part of his property was situated. I begged them to send a deputation to your Majesty, to acquaint you with my resolution, and to be my sureties with you that I should think of nothing during my retirement save tranquillity and repose, and that I should employ myself, in conjunction with them, in retaining the people in their duty and obedience. I did not wish to remain at Rouen, fearing that my sojourn in the capital of the province might be misinterpreted ; and I resolved to retire to Dieppe,¹ a town which had been granted to my husband as a place of security more than thirty years ago, and of which the late king had permitted him to purchase the government for the sum of 100,000 écus. When I arrived there, I begged the nobility who had escorted me thither to retire ; I sent to the Queen to assure her Majesty that nothing could divert me from an absolute obedience, and to beg her to permit me to remain in my château in peace ; and I despatched, also, the sheriffs to reiterate to your Majesty, on the subject of my arrival, the assurances of my fidelity.² I confess, Sire, that I persuaded myself

¹ It will be observed that Madame de Longueville says nothing here about her unsuccessful attempt to gain admission to Havre.

² This is distinctly amusing ; the sheriffs, as we have seen, went to Rouen to implore the Queen's protection against Madame de Longueville.

that, since what I demanded was just and in conformity with the recent Declarations, which are a solemn pledge of the public security,¹ the Cardinal Mazarin would not dare to begin to violate them in the person of a princess of your blood. But he—who desired at any price to execute the design which he had formed of arresting me or driving me away, and who was well aware that, owing to the orders which I had issued, he would meet with no resistance in the province—preferring to all other considerations that of satisfying his vanity and his hatred, although my actions gave him no ground for injuring me, and he lacked even a legitimate pretext for attacking me, brought your Majesty away from Paris in an inclement season ; made men of war march into a quiet province, at the risk of inciting it to insurrection ; denuded the frontiers of Picardy of troops, thus exposing them to the incursions of the enemy ; and, finally, abandoned your sacred person to the fury of the pest, and made your Majesty take up your residence at Rouen, at a time when the danger was driving away even persons of the humblest condition. Although he found matters tranquil, he did not omit to deprive my husband of his government, to fill the Vieux-Palais² with Swiss, to take possession of Granville and Cherbourg, to take the Pont-de-l’Arche, to seize upon the château of Caen, and to assure himself of the citadel of Havre ; putting in these places his own creatures, and, almost in a moment, rendering

¹ The Declaration of October 22, 1648, confirmed at the Peace of Rueil,

² The Vieux-Palais, or citadel, of Rouen,

himself master of the most important province of your realm.

“I should, nevertheless, have been able to remain without fear at Dieppe, which the citadel and the fort commanded absolutely, and where the offers of assistance I received, both from the people of the vicinity and from strangers, and the feebleness of the troops which the Cardinal brought, would have enabled me to do ; but, as I had made a firm resolution to persist up to the last extremity in submission and respect, instead of thinking of defending myself, I gave orders everywhere to obey ; and I sent anew to the Queen, to confirm the assurance of my fidelity. It was then that the Cardinal Mazarin, thinking to surprise me, sent a *lettre de cachet* commanding me to go to Coulommiers or to Trie ; and, although he knew, by my reply, that I was prepared to execute your commands, so soon as my health, which so many fatigues and anxieties had affected, should be somewhat re-established, he refused to give me time ; and, on the following day, he despatched the Sieur du Plessis-Bellièvre to Dieppe, with orders to make every effort to seize my person.

“So soon as the latter arrived, he caused all the citizens to arm themselves ; he placed sloops full of soldiers on the sea, to cut off my retreat ; and he sent guards to board a frigate, in which he thought that I intended to embark. Perceiving this, and aware that the troops which were approaching on the land side were prepared to besiege the place, I left orders with

the Sieur de Montigny to surrender it, and withdrew so opportunely, that two hours after my departure Cardinal Mazarin's guards had taken possession of the only place which remained to me for an asylum. I retired to my husband's estates, which are situated in the district of Caux, and imagined that, since I was residing in a private house, where my sojourn could not give umbrage, I should remain unmolested. But the Cardinal Mazarin, determined on my ruin, sent soldiers to the road which runs between Rouen and Dieppe, and caused every port from Dieppe to Havre, and every ford of the River Seine from Havre to Rouen, to be kept under observation. In this extremity, finding myself hemmed in on all sides, and having discovered a vessel of Holland which was returning thither, I embarked in a roadstead during the night, and in weather so tempestuous that it was easy to understand the peril which I desired to escape must have been very great, since it caused me to despise an extreme danger. By this means, Sire, I have come to your allies [the Dutch], to seek for the repose and the security which neither my innocence nor the faith of the Declarations have been able to preserve for me in my own country, in the face of the hatred of the Cardinal Mazarin. I doubt not that your Majesty will be touched by a persecution so obstinate and so unjust; and, taking into consideration the zeal, the fidelity, and the good fortune of my brothers and my husband in sustaining the affairs of your Majesty, and in maintaining your authority, both within and without

the kingdom, during your minority, you will arrest the course of our misfortunes, and direct your anger against those who, by pernicious counsels, deprive you of such valuable services, plunge the State anew into trouble, and expose it, in the most perilous way, to the invasion of foreign armies. I await this act of justice from your Majesty ; and, after desiring for you all kinds of happiness, I remain, Sire, your Majesty's very obedient and very faithful subject and servant,

“ ANNE DE BOURBON.

“ ROTTERDAM,

“ 28 *February*, 1650.”

This specious epistle excited universal sympathy in favour of the “persecuted” lady, and added to the renown which her conduct during the Parliamentary Fronde had gained for her. From this moment, indeed, she appears to have been generally regarded as the head of the powerful league which, from different quarters, was forming against Mazarin.

CHAPTER XVI

Madame de Longueville joins Turenne at Stenai—Treaty between them and Spain—Manifesto of Madame de Longueville in justification of her conduct—She is declared guilty of high treason—Petition of the Dowager Princesse de Condé to the Parlement in favour of the imprisoned princes—The young Princesse de Condé and her son brought by Bouillon and La Rochefoucauld to Bordeaux, where the populace compel the Parlement to espouse their cause—Death of Mlle. de Dunois—Activity of Madame de Longueville, who is the soul of the party of the princes—Defeat of Hocquincourt at Fismes—Alarm in Paris—Removal of the princes from Vincennes to Marcoussis—Reasons for Turenne's failure to advance on Paris considered—Siege and capitulation of Bordeaux—Return of the Court to Fontainebleau—Indignation excited by the removal of the princes from Marcoussis to Havre—Strained relations between Mazarin and the Frondeurs—Demand of Retz for his nomination for a cardinal's hat refused—Departure of Mazarin for the army—Defeat of Turenne at Rethel.

TOWARDS the end of February, Madame de Longueville set out for Stenai. At Namur, Don Gabriel de Toledo, Minister of the Archduke Leopold, visited the princess, and proposed to her, as the representative of her imprisoned brother, a treaty of alliance with Spain. But Madame de Longueville declined to do anything, except in conjunction with Turenne; and Don Gabriel accordingly begged permission to accompany her to Stenai, where the marshal was awaiting her, with an impatience which,

if we are to believe the memoirs of the time, was not entirely due to political considerations.¹

Since he had installed himself in this fortress, Turenne, who had assumed the title of "lieutenant-general of the army of the King for the deliverance of the princes," had been exceedingly active ; collecting troops, writing to all the governors and principal nobles of the neighbouring provinces whom he believed to be dissatisfied with the Court, and making repeated efforts to resume his former ascendancy over the German forces which Hervart, the Strasburg banker, had succeeded in detaching from him the previous year. Foiled in this direction by the indefatigable energy of Mazarin, who despatched Hervart to "reform" the officers of the regiments whose loyalty he had reason to suspect, by the same methods which had proved so efficacious before, and spurred on by Madame de Longueville, who seemed ready to go to any lengths to be revenged upon the Cardinal, he turned an only too willing ear to the proposals of the Spanish envoy ; and, after a good deal of haggling, a treaty was concluded, on April 13, 1650, between the Court of Spain, on one side, and the princess and Turenne, on the other.

By this treaty, the parties bound themselves not

¹ "M. de Turenne did not confine himself to directing the political enterprises of this princess ; he made her the most tender declarations, which, however, she did not receive with all the gratitude that he expected ; for it is said that she jested much about them with La Moussaye, Governor of Stenai."—Bourgoing de Villefore, *la Véritable Vice d'Anne-Geneviève de Bourbon, Duchesse de Longueville*.

to lay down their arms until the liberation of the princes had been achieved, and "a just and reasonable peace" granted to Spain. The King of Spain agreed to furnish his allies with 200,000 crowns for the raising of troops, 40,000 crowns a month for their maintenance and other expenses of the war, and 60,000 crowns a year for the support of Madame de Longueville and Turenne and their principal adherents. Further, his Catholic Majesty agreed to place under the orders of the marshal a force of 5,000 men, of which 3,000 were to be cavalry, and to furnish garrisons for all fortified places on the frontier which they might capture; the garrisons of those places taken in the interior to be furnished by the army of Turenne. All conquests were to remain, provisionally, in the power of Spain, but were to be returned to France so soon as peace was made.

In signing this document, Madame de Longueville had, of course, rendered herself guilty of high treason—a serious matter, even at this period, and after so many illustrious examples. Conscious of this fact, and comprehending the necessity of justifying her conduct in the eyes of that considerable section of the nation which, while in sympathy with her objects, might look with disapproval on such questionable methods of furthering them, the duchess strove to place the alliance of the princes with Spain in the most favourable light. She therefore composed a manifesto, which was printed in Brussels and circulated in France and several other countries, wherein, after having

recalled all the persecutions of which she and her family were the objects, she called all Europe to witness that, in the face of the outrageous manner in which all forms of justice had been ignored in regard to them, there was no alternative left to her, save a recourse to arms; but that she had taken this step "solely in the interests of France and of all Christendom, in order to secure the supreme blessing of peace." "Being informed," she continues, "that the goodness of the Queen is more blinded than ever by the artifices of her Minister, and that M. le Duc d'Orléans, owing to his facile disposition, abandons himself to those false tribunes of the people [*i.e.* her former friends, the Frondeurs], I recognised that I was the only person to whom means remained of putting an end to so many calamities, and that my conscience, my birth, and my duty compelled me powerfully thereunto. Further, I found myself urged on to undertake so great and glorious an enterprise by the most notable persons of the Church, the Sword, and the Robe, and by the supplications that I received from the principal inhabitants of Paris and of the chief towns of the realm. But I feel especially fortified on this occasion by the affection, the counsel, and the assistance of M. de Turenne, whose merit and valour are on a par with the highest enterprises, and who is equally devoted to the service of the King, the good of France, and the re-establishment of our House." She concludes by justifying the treaty with Spain, on the ground of the urgent necessity

of peace, and because his Catholic Majesty had declared his intention to refuse to negotiate with Mazarin, though he would willingly do so with the princes.¹

Always very anxious to conciliate public opinion, Madame de Longueville did not rest content with this specious document, but followed it up by several others, all of which are marked by that ability which we should naturally expect from the writer. The two most important are respectively entitled: *Motifs du traité de Madame de Longueville et M. de Turenne avec le roi catholique*, and *Article principal du traité que Madame de Longueville et M. de Turenne ont fait avec sa Majesté catholique*. There appeared almost at the same time, at Amsterdam, an *Apologie particulière pour MM. les Princes envoyée par Madame de Longueville aux MM. de Parlement de Paris*.

On his side, Turenne addressed to the Regent a very outspoken letter, in which he recalled the great services rendered by Condé to the State, represented the miseries which civil war must entail, and demanded the release of the princes.

The answer to these effusions was not long delayed. On May 9, the Regent, justly exasperated, caused Madame de Longueville, Bouillon, La Rochefoucauld, Turenne, and their adherents to be declared "disturbers of the public repose, rebels, enemies of the State, and criminals guilty of *lèse-majesté* in the first

¹ *Manifeste de Madame de Longueville, à Bruxelles, l'an MDCL.* published by Bourgoing de Villefore.

degree." In consequence, they were deprived of all their honours, titles, dignities, charges, and pensions, and their estates were confiscated and united to the royal demesne. This declaration was presented to the Parlement by the *procureur-général*, and duly registered on May 16.

A few days later, the Dowager Princesse de Condé, who, about the middle of April, had secretly quitted Chantilly and concealed herself in a house in Paris, presented herself before the Parlement, with a petition in which she invoked the article of the Declaration of October, 1648, against arbitrary imprisonment, and claimed the liberty of her sons. The old princess, once so proud and haughty, but now bowed down by grief and shame, condescended to the most humble solicitations. She stopped Gaston d'Orléans as he was entering the Chamber, and, throwing herself at his feet, implored justice for herself and her children ; she entreated Beaufort to give her his protection, and sought Retz's good offices, on the ground that "she had the honour of being his kinswoman !" "M. de Beaufort was very much embarrassed," writes the coadjutor, "and I myself nearly died of shame." But, though all were moved by compassion at the sight of this daughter of the Montmorencies a suppliant before them, the Parlement, influenced by the Frondeurs, who were still the implacable enemies of Condé, and indignant at learning of the treaty which Madame de Longueville had concluded with the Spaniards, refused to entertain her request ;

and the sole result of her self-humiliation was that she received permission to take up her residence with her cousin, the Duchesse de Châtillon, at Châtillon-sur-Loing.

While Madame de Longueville and Turenne were intriguing with the Spaniards in the North, the South had broken out into insurrection. On leaving Dieppe, La Rochefoucauld had gone to Verteuil, where he arrived just in time to bid a last farewell to his father, who died on February 8. Under the pretext of giving the deceased nobleman a funeral befitting his high rank, he assembled at Verteuil several hundred gentlemen of the neighbourhood and their retainers, with whose assistance he made an unsuccessful attempt to surprise Saumur, the key of Anjou and Poitou. After this check, he united his fortunes to those of his powerful and turbulent neighbour Bouillon; and the two dukes determined to link to the cause of the princes that of the citizens of Bordeaux, who had been for months past in a state of semi-revolt against the tyranny of their detested governor, the Duc d'Épernon.¹ In order to stimulate the zeal of the malcontents, they invited the young Princesse de Condé—who, suddenly displaying an energy and courage hitherto unsuspected, with the aid of Lenet, had escaped, on

¹ On the previous March 11, the Parlement of Bordeaux had sent a deputation to Paris to request the removal of Épernon; but Mazarin refused to accede to their demands, probably because he was at that moment endeavouring to arrange a marriage between Épernon's son, the Duc de Candale, and his own niece, Anne Marie Martinozzi, afterwards Princesse de Conti.

April 13, from Chantilly, to her husband's château of Montrond, in Berry—to join them with the little Duc d'Enghien. After an adventurous journey, the princess and her son reached Bouillon's château of Turenne in the Limousin, on May 14, where they were received with the firing of cannon and the most enthusiastic acclamations. A hundred covers were laid in the great hall, where they dined ; the health of the illustrious guests and that of the imprisoned princes were drunk, sword in hand, until every one present, from the Duc de Bouillon—who, we are told, drank two or three bumpers in response to a single toast—to the servants were “in a state somewhat approaching intoxication.”¹

The gentry of the South flocked to offer their services to the princess, who soon found herself at the head of a considerable force ; and, at the end of May, she appeared before Bordeaux. The Parlement and the municipal authorities hesitated to receive her, in the face of the formal prohibition of the king ; but the populace, incited by the agents of Bouillon and La Rochefoucauld, took the matter out of their hands, flung open the gates, and welcomed her with frantic enthusiasm. The following day, leading her son by the hand, *Madame la Princesse* presented herself at the Palais de Justice, to implore the protection of the Parlement. “Act as a father to me, Messieurs, since the Cardinal Mazarin has taken my own father from me,” cried the little duke, falling upon his knees ;

¹ Lenet, *Mémoires*.

and the magistrates, partly out of compassion for this touching spectacle, and partly out of fear of the mob which was clamouring at the doors, voted that "the dame Princesse de Condé and the seigneur Duc d'Enghien, her son, might reside in that town in safety, under the protection of the laws."

Next day, in spite of the protests of the Parlement, Bouillon and La Rochefoucauld entered the city, borne, so to speak, on the shoulders of the mob. Soon appeared a Spanish envoy, with promises of prompt and powerful assistance from Philip IV. ; and Bordeaux and the greater part of Guienne were in open rebellion.

In the latter part of June, Madame de Longueville received a terrible blow. It will be remembered that she had had two daughters, the elder of whom had died in infancy, while the second had been born in the summer of 1647, after the princess's return from Münster. On leaving Paris, in the previous January, to take refuge in Normandy, she had confided Mlle. de Dunois, as the latter was called, together with her two brothers, the Comtes de Dunois and de Saint-Paul, to the care of the Dowager Princesse de Condé, who had taken them with her to Chantilly. Unhappily, some four months later, the little girl was taken seriously ill, and the doctors were unable to save her life.

Madame de Longueville, who was passionately attached to her children, was in despair when the news

reached her ; her grief being intensified by the fact that she had not been at hand to soothe her daughter's last hours. In misfortune she never failed to turn for consolation to those faithful friends of her childhood, the good Sisters of the Rue Saint-Jacques, and she now wrote to the prioress of the Carmelites, the amiable and learned Judith de Bellefonds (Mère Agnès de Jésus-Maria), the friend and sometimes the counsellor of Bossuet, to express a wish that the child should be interred in the cloisters of the convent, where her sister had been buried, six years before. Here is one of her letters :

MADAME DE LONGUEVILLE TO THE PRIORESS OF
THE CARMELITES OF THE GRAND COUVENT.

" 28 June, 1650.

"I cannot doubt that you are imploring God's mercy on the state to which I am reduced. He has done me so great a favour in taking her from the world before she has experienced its bitterness, that I have felt nothing because of her loss, save that which one cannot refuse to Nature. I doubt not that you have her among you, and would to God, my dear Mother, that I might have had there a like retreat, or that which He has made me desire so much there !"¹

Menaced at once in the heart of the capital by the friends and agents of the princes, who spared no effort

¹ She means that she wishes that her desire to become an inmate of the Carmelites had been granted.

to excite the Parlement and the people against him ; in the North, by Madame de Longueville, Turenne, and the Spaniards ; and in the South, by the Princesse de Condé, Bouillon, and La Rochefoucauld, Mazarin took prompt and vigorous measures to defend himself. Leaving the Maréchal du Plessis-Praslin to hold in check the insurrection in the North, he decided to take the King and the Regent to Guienne ; and, on July 4, the Court left Paris, to join the army of the South, which, under the command of that excellent general and fervent Royalist La Meilleraie, soon succeeded in confining the revolt within the walls of Bordeaux.

At Stenai, Madame de Longueville continued to display an energy and an ability worthy of a better cause. While Turenne conducted the military operations, the princess directed all the political part of their common enterprise. She corresponded with the Spanish Minister at Brussels, with La Rochefoucauld and Lenet at Bordeaux, and with the Princess Palatine, who sustained the cause of the princes in Paris. Her secret agents were everywhere : in Flanders, in the camp of the Spaniards, at the little Court of Lorraine, and in every quarter of France, particularly in the capital, spying, eavesdropping, cajoling, corrupting. A number of the letters of these agents are to be found in their *Mélanges Clérambault*, in the Bibliothèque Nationale ; and, though the most of them are either wholly or partially in cipher, they reveal a secret-service system which is very remarkable, when we consider that its organiser was a woman without any political training.

Had the operations of the allies in the field been conducted with the same ability and pertinacity which characterized the political intrigues of Madame de Longueville, it would have been impossible for the feeble forces, which were all that the Government could spare for the defence of Paris and the Northern frontier, to make head against them. But it was no easy matter for Turenne and the Spaniards to agree upon a plan of campaign, and, when they at length did so, it was singularly ineffective. After the treaty of April 30, the Spaniards proposed that they should invade Picardy, while the marshal and his troops should occupy Champagne, and hold in check the forces which France could oppose to them. Covered thus by Turenne, they would have been able to reduce the fortresses in the former province without fear of being disturbed, and in a very short time would have reaped a rich reward for their insidious generosity. But Turenne, who had no desire to play into the hands of Spain, firmly opposed this proposition, maintaining that, the object of the alliance being the liberation of the princes, in order to procure, by this means, a general peace, their efforts should be directed to this end ; and that they should accordingly unite their forces and press forward, if possible, to the very walls of Vincennes. After considerable discussion, this plan was adopted, and the troops of the marshal and the archduke proceeded to lay siege to Le Catelet, which capitulated, after a mere show of resistance, and then invested Guise. The town was speedily carried by

assault, but the governor, the Marquis de Bridieu (who, it will be remembered, had been the Duc de Guise's second in the memorable duel with Coligny in December, 1643), retired to the citadel, where he held out bravely for more than three weeks. At the end of that time, Du Plessis-Praslin, having, by a skilful manœuvre, succeeded in cutting off the invaders' supplies, they were compelled to raise the siege.

Although the early campaign of the new allies had been unsuccessful, the expedition to Guienne, necessitating as it did the withdrawal of a considerable portion of the troops on the Northern frontier, placed them in a much more favourable position; and all military writers seem to be agreed that, had they acted with unanimity and vigour, they must have overcome the weak forces opposed to them and carried the war to the gates of Paris.

Mazarin, however, had reckoned that the Spaniards would prefer to devote their energies to the capture of a few places in Champagne, which could easily be recovered when once the South had been pacified, rather than favour Turenne's plan of a serious invasion. At the same time, in order to leave nothing to chance, he had, before setting out for Guienne, given instructions to Le Tellier that, should the enemy show any intention of advancing upon Vincennes, he should forestall their designs by removing the princes, under a strong escort, to Havre.

Events happened very much as the Cardinal had foreseen. At the end of July, the Archduke Leopold



From an engraving by Schley.

HENRI DE LA TOUR D'AUVERGNE, MARÉCHAL DE TURENNE.

resumed the offensive, and invested and captured La Capelle, Vervins, and Marle; while Turenne took Rethel and Château-Porcien. Then the latter, having skilfully outmanœuvred Du Plessis-Praslin, succeeded in effecting a junction with the Archduke, and their united forces began to advance on Paris. Hocquincourt attempted to bar their progress, and entrenched himself at Fismes, on the Vesle; but his camp was surprised and stormed, and he fell back, with some loss, to Soissons; while Boutteville, who commanded Turenne's advance-guard, after pursuing him to the gates of the town, pushed on to La Ferté-Milon, only ten leagues from Paris.

The capital was in a state of consternation; the peasants from all the country round came crowding into the city for protection; and it was the general belief that, in a day or two, the red and yellow banners would be flying before the walls. The municipal authorities met at the Hôtel de Ville, when it was decided that the gates should be closed and the town guarded, as had been done during the siege of 1649. The Ministers, on their side, fearing that the enemy would at least press on to Vincennes and endeavour to liberate the princes, anxiously deliberated as to what steps should be taken in regard to them. Le Tellier, faithful to Mazarin's instructions, urged that they should be taken to Havre; but such a proposal was unacceptable to the Frondeurs, since it would place the prisoners altogether in the power of the Cardinal; and Retz and Beaufort demanded that they

should be removed to the Bastille, in which case they and their associates would become the arbiters of their fate. After a somewhat heated discussion, Châteauneuf, who, in virtue of the bargain between the Court and the Fronde, had been restored to his old office of Keeper of the Seals, suggested that the princes should be transferred to Marcoussis, a château belonging to the Comte d'Entragues, eight leagues from Paris, on the road to Orléans, to reach which it would be necessary for the enemy to cross both the Marne and the Seine, and which was sufficiently strong to resist any assault unsupported by artillery. The Duc d'Orléans approved this proposition, and, on the morning of August 29, the princes left Vincennes, in charge of the Sieur de Bar, who had promised the Queen, before she set out for Guienne, to poniard them to the heart rather than permit them to escape.

The removal of the princes to Marcoussis deprived Turenne of any motive for advancing towards Paris, and he accordingly retreated to Neufchâtel, to rejoin the archduke, who was mercilessly ravaging the surrounding country, notwithstanding that he had sent a letter to the Duc d'Orléans, from Fismes, to assure him that he had no other desire than that of bringing about peace. About the middle of September, the allies proceeded to lay siege to Mouson, a town on the Meuse, some two leagues from Stenai, the possession of which would assure them a good position on that river. Mouson, though by no means strongly

fortified, made a long and stubborn resistance, and, as the besiegers' fell short of ammunition, it was not until November 6 that it finally surrendered, after which part of the army went into winter quarters in Flanders, while Turenne, with 8,000 men, remained on the frontier.

Some difference of opinion exists as to the quarter in which lies the blame for the failure of the allies to advance upon Paris and liberate the princes after the defeat of Hocquincourt at Fismes. According to the Maréchal du Plessis-Praslin, Turenne himself was responsible. "During the stay which the enemy made at Fismes, which was more than six weeks," he writes, "those who were in command formed several plans; but one of the most important was that of delivering the Prince de Condé from the Bois de Vincennes: they proposed to the Maréchal de Turenne, who was one of their principal chiefs, to take a considerable body of cavalry and what infantry was required, and approach Paris, which was an easy matter, and endeavour, with the assistance of his adherents, to storm the Château of Vincennes and liberate the prince. One may say that God alone hindered the Maréchal de Turenne from consenting to this proposition."¹

Such a statement, coming from Turenne's principal adversary in this campaign, merits consideration; and it is to be remarked that Victor Cousin, one of the greatest authorities on the history of the period, is also

¹ *Mémoires du Maréchal du Plessis-Praslin.*

inclined to attribute the responsibility to Turenne.¹ The bulk, however, of both contemporary and modern opinion is opposed to them. "The Archduke and Fuensaldana,"² writes the Maréchal d'Estrées, a witness of these events, "were very relieved when they learned that the princes had been removed from the Bois de Vincennes ; since they availed themselves of this excuse towards M. de Turenne, who urged them vehemently to approach Paris, although in every way they were reluctant to advance or to engage themselves to do so, being distrustful, so they said, of the French humour, which was so easily embroiled and still more easily reconciled. They preferred to see *Monsieur le Prince* a prisoner, rather than at liberty, because they believed that the divisions which were so great would continually increase ; while that, on the other hand, if the prince were at large, he would turn against them, in order to regain the favour of the King and Monsieur le Cardinal." Lenet, so well informed of all which concerned the situation of the princes and the affairs of their party, is of the same opinion. "Turenne," he writes, "was unable to persuade the Archduke to do anything he wished."³ The despatches which passed between Mazarin and Lionne are, moreover, in accord on this point with d'Estrées and Lenet ; and the same view is accepted by military historians, like Ramsay and

¹ *Correspondance de Madame de Longueville avec la Princesse Palatine, etc., Journal des Savants*, 1853.

² The Count de Fuensaldana, Minister of the Archduke Leopold, and the general-in-chief of the Spanish forces in the Netherlands.

³ *Mémoires*.

Napoleon, and by recent authorities on the period, like Turenne's latest biographer, M. Roy, and Chéruel.

Wherever the blame lay, the error was an inexcusable one. After the defeat of Hocquincourt, success was probable, if not certain, had the allies followed up their success with rapidity and energy ; for the force at the disposal of Du Plessis-Praslin was too weak to risk a battle, unless driven to it by the necessity of preventing the investment of the capital, and a march on Vincennes was unlikely to be seriously opposed. On the other hand, so favourable an opportunity of securing the liberation of the princes, and an advantageous peace with Spain, was never likely to recur, since it was evident that Mazarin, once Guienne was pacified, would hasten to reinforce the army of Du Plessis-Praslin by that of La Meilleraie, when the advantage in numbers would be on the side of the French, and they would be in position to take the offensive.

Madame de Longueville was naturally bitterly disappointed at this feeble ending to a campaign whose movements she had followed with so much eagerness ; on several occasions paying visits to Flanders, in order to hasten the despatch of troops and supplies to the front. Her mortification was increased by the news from Bordeaux.

After long and fruitless negotiations, the siege of that city had been opened on September 5, and continued for some days without any marked advantage

on either side. While the novelty of the affair lasted, the Bordelais displayed the most desperate resolution. Encouraged by the example of the young Princesse de Condé, even the wives of the wealthiest citizens took part in the defence of the town, and carried baskets of earth decorated with bows of ribbon to the trenches. The little Duc d'Enghien rode to the ramparts and cried to his attendants to give him a sword, "that he might go and kill Mazarin." Bouillon and La Rochefoucauld directed the defence-works, and, as if the siege had been a pleasure-party, "regaled the ladies with fruit and sweetmeats and the workmen with wine." Every evening there was dancing under ramparts, and the Princesse de Condé held a court in a brilliantly illuminated gallery. The festivities, indeed, were continuous, notwithstanding that skirmishes, often very sanguinary, took place almost daily.

On September 10, the besieged sallied out, and made a determined attack on the Royalists, in which more than six hundred men on either side were killed. Among the Bordelais who fell, was a handsome youth, named Viger, the son of a counsellor of the Parlement, who was beloved by a fair lady of the town, and wore her colours. The latter, on learning the sad news, fell swooning into the arms of *Madame la Princesse*, and "nearly expired of the grief which she was powerless to conceal."¹

However, the assistance promised by Spain did not

¹ MM. Homberg et Jousselin, *la Femme du Grand Condé*.

arrive ; the better-class citizens soon grew tired of a struggle into which they had been forced against their better judgment ; while the bellicose ardour of the populace was cooled by the scarcity of provisions. Moreover, the season of the vintage was approaching, and to lose the chief crop of the year would be nothing short of disaster. Perceiving how matters were tending, the *Princesse de Condé* resolved to anticipate the surrender which she felt was imminent, and, on September 11, proceeded to the *Hôtel de Ville*, where the city fathers were assembled in conclave, and informed them that “since she sought only their satisfaction and tranquillity, she would do nothing to hinder the peace which they might be able to conclude with the Cardinal.”

The authorities took her at her word ; and, when, four days later, deputies from the *Parlement* of Paris arrived, with an offer of mediation, their proposition was gladly accepted by the defenders. On his side, *Mazarin*, though he complained of the interference of the *Parlement* in this matter as a dangerous precedent, was impatient to make an end of the insurrection of the South, in order to deal with that of the North. The deputies of the *Parlement*, consequently, found little difficulty in proposing terms acceptable to both parties ; and, on October 1, articles of peace were signed between the Regent and the insurgents.

By this treaty, a full and complete amnesty was granted the *Bordelais*, on condition that the King

and his troops were admitted to the town ; the Princesse de Condé, Bouillon, La Rochefoucauld, and their followers were permitted to retire to their estates unmolested, in the full enjoyment of all dignities and offices which they held, on the promise that they would lay down their arms "and continue henceforth in fidelity and obedience ;" while it was agreed that Épernon should be temporarily suspended from his duties as governor of the province. The treaty contained no mention of the princes, although the revolt had been made in their name and for their deliverance.

On October 3, the Princesse de Condé and her son sailed from Bordeaux, "amid a rain of flowers," and proceeded to Bourg-sur-Mer, where the Court had taken up its residence. Claire-Clémence went to salute Anne of Austria, and, throwing herself at the Queen's feet, demanded pardon for her husband. Her Majesty received her kindly and made her sit by her side, but her answer to the princess's petition was not very encouraging. "I am well pleased, my cousin," said she, "that you acknowledge your fault ; you have taken a bad way to obtain what you ask for ; now that you intend to take a quite different one, I will see when and how I can give you the satisfaction you desire."

Bouillon and La Rochefoucauld, who had accompanied the princess, visited Mazarin with a similar request, to which, however, he returned an equally evasive answer. Nevertheless, he was all courtesy, and invited the two dukes and Lenet to accompany

him for a drive. As they set out, the Cardinal remarked with a smile: "Who would have believed a week ago that we four would be riding to-day in the same coach?" "*Tout arrive en France*," replied the future author of the *Maximes*.¹

Two days after the departure of the Princesse de Condé from Bordeaux, their Majesties made their entry, when they were received by the population with the same enthusiasm with which they had bidden farewell to the heroic Claire-Clémence, and entertained by the municipality to a banquet, which was considered "*maigre, petit, et sobre*."

Guienne pacified, Mazarin brought the Court to Fontainebleau, where he completed his preparations for an expedition to Champagne, by which he intended to overwhelm the only enemy left him to contend with. All the hopes of Madame de Longueville were now reduced to the army of Turenne, and to the intrigues which she had not ceased to carry on in Paris, and which she pressed forward with renewed vigour during the remainder of the autumn. Her friends and her numerous agents kept her well informed of all that was happening in the Court, in the Parliament, in the salons, and even in the literary resorts, which were not without their influence on public opinion; and she had the satisfaction of learning that her unceasing efforts on behalf of the imprisoned

¹ Lenet, *Mémoires*. This is generally believed to have been the origin of the *mot*, which has since become a proverb.

princes were beginning to bear fruit, and that, though worsted in the field, their party was daily gathering strength in the capital.

When the prisoners were removed from Vincennes to Marcoussis, the sympathy which their long confinement and the heroism of the Princesse de Condé had gradually aroused gave way to indignation. People now began to declare that *Monsieur le Prince* was a martyr, and crowds flocked to Vincennes to see the room in which he had slept, the courtyard in which he had taken exercise, and the violets which he had watered with his own hands.¹ Then, in the middle of November, came the news that the princes, under an escort of 1,200 men, commanded by the Comte d'Harcourt, had been removed to Havre ; and the popular indignation, artfully stimulated by Madame de Longueville's agents, redoubled in intensity.

On the other hand, Mazarin's nominal allies, the Frondeurs, were cold in their support, for, though much had been given them, they were still dissatisfied, and they distrusted the Cardinal as much as he distrusted them, and suspected him of planning to make the Government so strong that it could dispense with their support. The removal of the princes to Havre was viewed by them with considerable alarm, since at Havre they would be completely under the Minister's control, and it would be possible for him to make terms

¹ One day, his surgeon found Condé tending some flower-pots. "Look, Dalencé," said the prince, "who would have believed that I should be watering violets while my wife is making war !" — The Duc d'Aumale, *Histoire des Princes de Condé*.

secretly with Condé at any time. Retz, too, had a grievance of his own against the Government, and had become as great a source of embarrassment to it as when he had been in open opposition.

The coadjutor had set his heart on obtaining a cardinal's hat, which, if we are to believe his own statement, the Queen had offered to obtain for him as a condition of his alliance against Condé; and, in the late summer of 1650, when the Court was in Guienne, he formally demanded his nomination for the next cardinalate given to France. The request, however, was one which Mazarin was determined not to grant. He detested Retz, and knew that the only result of his elevation would be to make him the more dangerous, since he would then have nothing either to hope for or fear from the Government. Moreover, once invested with the purple, there would be no bounds to his restless ambition, and he would in all probability aspire to supplant Mazarin in the office of first Minister. Madame de Chevreuse wrote, urging the Cardinal to grant the nomination, and pointing out that, by so doing, he would assure himself not only of the support of the coadjutor, but of that of Orléans as well, over whose facile mind Retz had, since the disgrace of La Rivière, obtained considerable influence. But Mazarin had resolved that no argument should induce him to consent, and, in a letter to Le Tellier, expressed himself in regard to the aspiring prelate in a very unflattering manner: "In reference to the sentiments of his Royal Highness [Gaston d'Orléans] touching the

nomination of M. le coadjuteur to the cardinalate, his Eminence¹ considers that it would be well that you should make him understand, as coming from you, that the Queen will never do it, because she knows, from her own experience, that he is a very wicked man, without either religion or fidelity, and that all the world knows him for such.”²

At the same time, Mazarin, anxious to avoid anything like a rupture with the coadjutor during his absence from Paris, excused himself from giving a definite answer to his request until the return of the Court from Guienne, and endeavoured to pacify him for the disappointment which awaited him by an offer of the payment of his debts and several rich abbeys. But Retz was far too astute an antagonist to be cajoled in this manner; and scarcely had the Court arrived at Fontainebleau, than Madame de Chevreuse sought an interview with the Cardinal, and, on behalf of her friend, pressed for an immediate answer. The duchess repeated the arguments she had used in the letter she had written Mazarin some weeks before, and pointed out that if, exasperated by his refusal, Retz were to ally himself with the Princess Palatine, the Duc de Nemours,³

¹ Mazarin speaks of himself in the third person; the letter was written, from his dictation, by Colbert.

² Published by Chéruel. In a previous letter, dated September 17, Mazarin had expressed his conviction that “God never made a worse man than the coadjutor.”

³ Charles Amédée de Savoie. (See p. 117 *supra*.) He had not declared openly for the princes after the events of January 18, presumably because he feared to be separated from Madame Châtillon, of whom he was passionately enamoured; but he seems to have been very active in their support in Paris.

and the numerous party which supported Condé, it would be impossible for the Cardinal to make head against such powerful enemies. She also gave him to understand that Retz's desertion of his cause would be the signal for her own as well.

Mazarin, still determined not to yield, but, desirous to avoid offending the duchess, professed himself only too anxious to oblige her and the coadjutor, but dwelt upon the reluctance of the Queen and the hostility of several of the Ministers, and ended by offering to submit the matter to the Council, which course would enable him, he fondly hoped, to throw the odium of a refusal upon others. The Council, as he had, of course, foreseen, pronounced strongly against the pretensions of Retz ; but Mazarin, always anxious to temporise, caused the prelate to be informed that a definite decision would be deferred until the Regent's return to Paris.

Retz did not allow himself to be deceived by this disguised refusal, and, from that moment, the unnatural alliance between Mazarin and the Fronde was at an end.

For the moment, however, Mazarin was more occupied with the situation on the frontier than with the intrigues of Paris. Having assured himself that he had taken all measures necessary for a successful campaign, on December 1, he quitted the capital, and arrived four days later at Rheims, where he displayed great activity in superintending the concentration of troops and the provisioning of the army, insisting that the

smallest details should be discussed before him, and presiding in person at all the military councils. Many a long year had passed since he had exchanged the sword for the *soutane*, but he had not forgotten the lessons of his youth. "Seeing that he was hated by the *grande*es of the kingdom and by the people," says Madame de Motteville, "he tried to preserve for himself the good-will of the soldiers. His principle was to go to the army as frequently as possible, and always to carry money to it, taking care to provide the soldiers with all their little necessities. This year he had brought them great-coats, to protect them against the cold, which was already severe. He kept three or four tables, where he entertained the officers, in order to win them to himself by good cheer, showing himself, besides, kinder and more affable than ever he was in the Queen's cabinet.

On December 9, Du Plessis-Praslin began the siege of Rethel, which place, it will be remembered, had been taken by Turenne in the preceding August. The marshal had left there a garrison of 1,800 men, under the command of Degli Ponti, an Italian engineer who enjoyed a great reputation. In order to stimulate the zeal of the investing army, Mazarin came himself to the French camp, and the siege was pressed with such vigour that, on the 13th, Degli Ponti, notwithstanding that he had received intelligence that Turenne was advancing to his assistance, capitulated. It was the general belief that the Cardinal's gold had been even more efficacious in expediting the surrender

than the cannon of the besiegers ; and it is certainly difficult to réconcile the ineptitude of the defence with the reputation of the governor.

On the following day, a few hours after Degli Ponti and his garrison had evacuated the citadel, Turenne arrived, at the head of an army composed of Spaniards, Lorrainers, and partisans of the princes. It was believed that he would make an attempt to recapture the town, and Du Plessis-Praslin kept his troops drawn up in order of battle all night. Mazarin himself, although suffering from an attack of gout, placed himself at the head of his guards, and announced his intention of taking part in the action. Turenne, however, whose men were worn out by four days of continuous marching over heavy roads, deemed it more prudent to retire, than risk a battle with a victorious army considerably superior to his own in numbers. Du Plessis-Praslin followed and came up with him between the villages of Somme-Py and Semide, about four leagues from Rethel.¹ The allied army occupied a very advantageous position on some heights ; and the French commander, recognising the futility of attacking it, could do nothing but watch its movements. "If," wrote Mazarin, "M. de Turenne had not given battle, but had only played with us until we had retired, he could afterwards have done what he wished."² Turenne, however,

¹ In his criticism of the campaigns of Turenne, Napoleon blames the marshal for the slowness of his retreat : in his opinion, he ought never to have allowed himself to be overtaken.

² *Carnet XIV.*

perceiving that all the infantry of Du Plessis-Praslin had not yet come up, and fearing that, when they did so, he intended to attack, determined to engage him without delay, and committed the fatal mistake of descending into the valley which separated him from the French.

The battle which followed was fiercely contested ; but the forces of Du Plessis-Praslin greatly outnumbered those of the enemy, and Turenne had neglected to form any reserve behind his wings. The left wing of the allies, led by the marshal in person, maintained for a time an obstinate struggle with the French right ; but their right was broken and shattered by Hocquincourt, who then fell upon the flank and rear of Turenne's division, and decided the day. Almost the whole of the infantry of the allies were killed or taken prisoners, while all their cannon and baggage fell into the hands of the victors. Among the prisoners, were Boutteville and the general commanding the Spaniards, Don Estavan de Gamarra. Turenne himself, although his horse had been wounded in several places, succeeded in effecting his escape, and gained Bar-le-Duc, whence he made his way to Montmédy, where he rallied the scattered remnants of his army. He was, however, of course, powerless to offer any further resistance to the victorious French, who proceeded to recapture Château-Porcien and the other places in Champagne which had been taken by the enemy during the summer and autumn. At the end of the year, there was not a Spaniard or a rebel left in the

province, except at Stenai, whither Turenne had retired, and the siege of which it had been decided to postpone until the spring, although by that time Mazarin confidently anticipated that peace would be re-established.

CHAPTER XVII

Death of the Dowager Princesse de Condé—Grief of Madame de Longueville—Her touching letter to the Prioress of the Carmelites of the Rue Saint-Jacques—The cause of the princes appears hopeless—Anne de Gonzague, Princess Palatine—Her character—Correspondence between her and Madame de Longueville—Intrigues in Paris—Disinclination of Mazarin to accept the offers of the Princess Palatine, La Rochefoucauld, and Madame de Longueville—Alliance between the party of the princes and the Old Fronde concluded—The Parlement demand the liberation of the princes and the exile of Mazarin—Anne of Austria is compelled to yield—The princes are set at liberty, and the Cardinal retires to Brühl.

THE news of the crushing defeat of her party at Rethel reached Madame de Longueville at a moment when she was already reduced to the deepest distress by a calamity of another kind. Her mother, the Dowager Princesse de Condé, although she was still only in her fifty-fourth year, and had hitherto enjoyed excellent health, had not been able to survive the misfortunes of her House. As sensible to the present disgrace of the children whom she so fondly loved as she had been to their former triumphs, she had grieved over it to such a degree, that she became seriously ill, and died on December 2, 1650, at Châtillon-sur-Loing, the residence of her cousin, the Duchesse de Châtillon, whither, as we have already mentioned, she had obtained permission to retire.

During her last days, the old princess had fallen very much under the influence of Madame de Châtillon, an unprincipled and avaricious woman, who divided her time between amorous intrigues with the handsome Duc de Nemours—which she was always very careful to conceal from Condé, who, since the death of her husband in the attack upon Charenton, in the first Fronde, had been her titular lover—and other intrigues, which had for their object the favour of the princess-dowager and a share in her will. In this, she was but too successful. “The Duchesse de Châtillon,” says Lenet, “who was the most astute woman in France, had so well understood how to employ her adroit and subtle mind and her agreeable and insinuating manners, as to make herself so completely mistress of the princess-dowager, that she saw only with her eyes and spoke only with her mouth.”

It was with the idea of separating the old princess from all the friends and servants who might endeavour to frustrate her designs, that the duchess had persuaded her to take up her residence at Châtillon-sur-Loing ; and, while there, she was careful not to permit any one to approach her, except Madame de Bourgneuf, the *gouvernante* of Madame de Longueville’s children, and *Madame la Princesse’s* confessor, a worldly and intriguing abbé named Cambiac, both of whom she had succeeded in gaining over to her cause. The outcome of these manœuvres was that the dowager, to the intense indignation of Madame de Longueville, bequeathed to Madame de Châtillon nearly the whole

of her jewellery—in itself a respectable fortune—and the revenues for life of several estates, including that of Merlou, or Mello, near Pontoise.

During her last years, the old princess had been exceedingly devout, and, after her husband's death, had at one time contemplated retiring altogether to the Carmelites of the Rue Saint-Jacques, where, by her directions, her remains were now interred. A day or two before her death, she sent for Anne of Austria's pious confidante, Madame de Brienne, whose daughter, now the Marquise de Gamaches, had been one of the most intimate friends of Madame de Longueville's youth,¹ and said to her: "My dear friend, tell that poor miserable woman at Stenai the state in which you see me, that she may learn how to die."²

A letter from the Prioress of the Carmelites³ informed Madame de Longueville of the loss which she had sustained. Her grief was intense, for she could not disguise from herself that her own reckless ambitions, and the evil counsels which she had given her brother Condé, were indirectly responsible for her mother's death. In reply, she wrote the following touching letter, "wherein," observes Victor Cousin, "having no longer a rôle to sustain, she lays bare her whole soul, and in which we find profound affliction, secret remorse mingled with a crushing grief, and exquisite sensibility combined with a style lofty and naturally distinguished."

¹ See p. 118, *supra*.

² Motteville.

³ Mère Agnès de Jésus-Maria (Judith de Bellefonds). (See p. 65 *supra*.)

MADAME DE LONGUEVILLE TO THE PRIORESS OF
THE CARMELITES OF THE GRAND COUVENT AT
PARIS.*" 14 December.*

"I received yesterday, at the same time, your three letters, of which the last informs me of our common loss ; and it is my silence, rather than my words, which must make you understand my grief. I am overwhelmed, my very dear Mother, and this blow finds me with no more strength in my soul. There are circumstances so cruel, that I cannot think of them and live, and, nevertheless, I can think of nothing else. This poor princess died in the midst of the misfortunes of her House, abandoned by all her children, and attended only by the grief and anguish which has tormented her unhappy life. For, in a word, it was the sufferings of the mind which occasioned those of the body, and I hold that death to be harder than if it had been caused by physical pains and afflictions. She will leave eternal sorrow in my mind, and to such a degree that I feel all other calamities more bitterly than I should otherwise do, and shall no longer be capable of knowing happiness, even should any come to me, since my poor mother will never have tasted it before feeling the bitterness of her last hour. I am acquainted with none of the circumstances which accompanied it, and I address myself to you, to beg you to inform me of them very exactly. It is only in afflicting myself

that I must find relief. Such a recital will produce that sad effect, and that is why I ask it of you ; since, indeed, you can well understand that it cannot be repose which follows such grief as mine, but misery secret and everlasting. This also I am prepared for, and to bear it in the sight of God and of those of my sins which have laid so heavy a hand upon my mother. He will perhaps accept such a humiliation and the chains of my profound wretchedness. You will assuage them somewhat, if I can hope from your friendship the share of it which the person whom we mourn possessed, and it will be to me her most precious inheritance. I venture to assure you, and I say this to all those of your community to whom she was dear, that if I am unworthy of what I ask, owing to the little I give, I merit it at least by my affection for you, which is increased, it seems to me, by the new and sad connection between us which our loss has brought about.

“Adieu, my dear Mother ; my tears blind me ; if it were the will of God that they should occasion the termination of my life, they would seem to me rather the instruments of my welfare than the effects of my misfortune. Adieu once more, my dear Mother ; be assured, both you and all our friends, that I inherit the affection which she who is no more bore to you, and that I shall behold her all my life, in beholding you.”¹

¹ Bibliothèque Nationale ; *Recueil de Marguerite Perier*, published by Victor Cousin, *Correspondance de Madame de Longueville avec la Princesse Palatine, etc.* This letter had been previously published by Bourgoing de Villefore, but with several alterations in the original text.

At the end of the year 1650, Madame de Longueville seemed to have reached the last degree of misfortune. She had lost not only her daughter and her mother, but also her old and valued friend, La Moussaye, the governor of Stenai, who had died from what cause does not appear to be known in the previous November ; the captivity of her brothers and her husband, which had already lasted more than a year, had become more rigorous than ever ; the insurrection in Guienne, from which she had expected so much, had been quelled ; while, in the North, the forces of Turenne had been scattered to the winds, and she expected to find herself, ere many weeks had passed, closely besieged in Stenai. Suddenly the wheel of Fortune turned ; intrigue succeeded where force had so signally failed ; the victorious Mazarin fell ; and Madame de Longueville found herself mistress of the situation.

It will be remembered that when, on the night of the arrest of the princes, the Court had sought to apprehend Madame de Longueville, she had been enabled to escape through the good offices of the Princess Palatine, who had concealed her for some hours in a house belonging to her in the Faubourg Saint-Germain, and had subsequently lent her her own coach to fly to Normandy. Between the two ladies the closest friendship existed, and, as the Princess Palatine was devoted to the interests of the House of Condé, Madame de Longueville had entrusted her with the management of the affairs of her party in Paris during her exile, and maintained with her an active correspondence.

Anne de Gonzague, Princess Palatine—or “the Palatine,” as she is generally called—is one of the most striking personalities of an age celebrated for its remarkable women. One day, during the conferences on the Île des Faisans which preceded the Peace of the Pyrenees, Mazarin observed to Don Luis de Haro, the Spanish Prime Minister : “ You are very fortunate, you Spaniards : your women only concern themselves with love-affairs. In France, it is not the same ; and we have three who would be capable of governing or subverting three great kingdoms : the Duchesse de Longueville, the Princess Palatine, and the Duchesse de Chevreuse.”

Without Madame de Longueville’s heroic instincts, or the courage and audacity of Madame de Chevreuse, the Palatine, nevertheless, possessed great qualities. She had inherited that talent for political intrigue for which her family had been for generations noted, and she well knew how to turn it to account. Unlike other feminine politicians of her time, she never permitted her judgment to be swayed by passion or prejudice. Amid the labyrinth of intrigue amid which she moved, she was always quick to discover in every situation the end for which she must strive, and she pursued it with an activity, an address, and a persistency which evoked the admiration of all, and caused Retz to declare that “ he believed she had as great a capacity for state affairs as Elizabeth, Queen of England.”

The unfortunate termination of her romance with the volatile Duc de Guise, of which we have spoken elsewhere, might have ruined a woman of less strength

of character ; but Anne de Gonzague accepted her fate with that good sense and firmness which always distinguished her, and, finding it impossible to persuade the duke to acknowledge her as his wife, resumed her maiden name, reappeared at Court, and, in 1645, married Edward of Bavaria, one of the numerous sons of the unfortunate Frederick V., Elector Palatine. The monotonous life of a petty German Court, however, was but little to her taste ; and, having persuaded her husband that their common interests would best be served by her residence in the French capital, she returned to Paris, where she divided her time between gallantry and politics.

As a younger daughter, she had received a very moderate dowry, and had known the humiliation of dependence on the generosity of her elder sister, Marie, Queen of Poland.¹ She therefore desired, above all things, to become rich, and exacted a high price for her services. Nevertheless, though mercenary to the verge of avarice, she never betrayed a friend or failed in her word,² and Madame de Longueville had in her the most implicit confidence.

Between Madame de Longueville, at Stenai, and the Princess Palatine, in Paris, a considerable number of letters seemed to have passed : one written by the latter lady is referred to as "the twentieth." But, unfortunately, only four of these—two from the pen

¹ Wife of Ladislas IV., and afterwards of his brother, John Casimir, Kings of Poland.

² "I have seen her in faction ; I have seen her in the cabinet ; and I have found her equally sincere."—Retz.

of each princess—have been preserved. They, however, are extremely interesting, containing as they do, not only valuable information concerning the party intrigues of the time, but also interesting revelations on the character and occupations of the two noble friends and the morals of the seventeenth century. The letters are, in parts, very obscure, as, notwithstanding all precautions, there was always considerable risk of their being intercepted; and this fact caused the writers to speak of their affairs in an enigmatical way, in order to baffle the curiosity of any unauthorised persons into whose hands the correspondence might fall. Sometimes they give to themselves, and to the various persons to whom they refer, fictitious names, for the most part drawn from the fashionable romances of the time, particularly the *Grand Cyrus* of Mlle. de Scudéry; while at others they make use of a cipher, which has baffled even the industry of Victor Cousin, to whom we are indebted for the extracts we are about to give.¹

The letters are divided into two parts—one of which treats of politics and the other of gallantry—designated respectively as “bagatelles” or “worldly affairs,” and as “the sacred mysteries” or “the things of religion.” “The two fair ladies,” observes Victor Cousin, “speak of the latter with all the confidence of friendship and with the abandon and assurance of two princesses. They deride those who make

¹ *Correspondance de Madame de Longueville avec la Princesse Palatine, etc.*—*Journal des Savants*, 1853.

love to them through interested motives or from a desire to add to their importance. They insist on devotion, but they show themselves not insensible to it. Madame de Longueville is wholly occupied with La Rochefoucauld, although she does not neglect to employ her charms to win others to the good cause, reserving to herself the right of dismissing them as soon as they become importunate. As for the Palatine, it is known that she had many lovers, but we are ignorant of their names. It is believed, however, that about 1650 she had a very intimate connection with the Chevalier Henri de la Vieuville, son of the Marquis de la Vieuville, sometimes Comptroller-General. It is he to whom the Palatine refers under the name of Orondate, and whom she declares that she prefers to Philidaspe, one of the characters of the *Grand Cyrus*, probably the Marquis de Villars, father of the celebrated marshal, successively Ambassador to Savoy and Spain, and husband of the accomplished Madame de Villars, so well known by her letters from Spain."

THE PRINCESS PALATINE TO MADAME DE
LONGUEVILLE.

"It seems to me that we have spoken enough of worldly affairs [politics], and that it is quite time to think also of those of religion [gallantry]. Believe, then, as though it were an article of faith, that the idea that you entertain on the subject of Philidaspe

[the Marquis de Villars] is a veritable temptation of the devil ; for he is altogether excommunicated, and, further, I answer you that he was a traitor in disguise, who had never any true religious sentiment, and thought only of his own interest, without a shadow of devotion. . . . It is therefore absolutely true that there is nothing in the world between Élise [the Princess Palatine]¹ and him, and they are now of altogether contrary religions. It is true that Orondate [the Chevalier de la Vieuville] adopts a very different course from that of Philidaspe ; and, indeed, it would not be impossible for him to become a great saint, since the pious actions which he performs every day have no equal, and he appears to me to have so much zeal and innocence, that we may see him one day with a halo of glory [that is to say, her accepted lover]. Nevertheless, they will be in no hurry as yet to give him the benefice, and, if he succeeds in the end in obtaining it, you shall be advised immediately. That does not mean that I see no probability of it, provided that he does not diminish in any way his devotion."

Having been so frank with Madame de Longueville, the Princess Palatine had naturally the right to expect the exile of Stenai to give her her entire confidence with regard to her own love-affairs, and we find the duchess discussing these delicate matters with equal freedom. Although Madame de Longueville's heart

¹ In the *Grand Cyrus* of Mlle. de Scudéry, Élise is the confidante of Mandane, who is, of course, Madame de Longueville.



From an engraving by Rousselet.

ANNE DE GONZAGUE, PRINCESS PALATINE.

was entirely occupied by La Rochefoucauld, this does not seem to have prevented her from indulging in occasional flirtations. Her position at Stenai, indeed, was a very difficult one, surrounded as she was by young nobles, some of whom had risked life and fortune for the sake of her *beaux yeux* ; and it would have been impossible for her to repulse their admiration too harshly, without the risk of offending them and of injuring the cause of her party. At the same time, she was always very careful to place a limit to her complacency, and, when her admirers became too importunate, she felt obliged to inform them of the futility of their hopes, and to recommend that they should strive to forget their disappointment amid the clash of arms. Thus, she informs her friend that she had been compelled to send to the army the Marquis de Tracy,¹ who had persecuted her a little too much, as well as the Chevalier de Gramont, the hero of Anthony Hamilton's *Mémoires*, then a young man of twenty-nine, who had conceived, or pretended that he had conceived, for her a most violent passion. Tracy, if we are to believe the Maréchal du Plessis-Praslin, was so mortified by the princess's rejection of his advances, that he soon afterwards deserted the cause of Condé and returned to that of the Court. But, though Madame de Longueville does not appear to have any fear of his ill-humour carrying him so far

¹ He was a member of a family of Scotch origin which had settled in Normandy, and he had served with distinction under Condé. After the arrest of the princes, he joined Madame de Longueville in Normandy, and followed her to Holland and thence to Stenai.

as that, she is afraid that he may "tell extravagant tales" to her mother, the Dowager Princesse de Condé, and bring upon her a severe reprimand. Accordingly, she begs the Princess Palatine to do everything possible to prevent a meeting between them.

MADAME DE LONGUEVILLE TO THE PRINCESS
PALATINE.

"29th November.

"To leave trifling matters [politics and war] and to come to one more serious, which is connected with our eternal welfare [gallantry]. I never for a moment perceived that La Moussaye had any intention of becoming of the same religion as La Rochefoucauld [*i.e.* her adorer]. You can well understand that I should not tell you this for the sake of deceiving you, if it had been the case, and I again swear to you that nothing is more false. Certain little things passed between him and Tracy which might have caused people to believe it;¹ but, on my honour, there was nothing. As for Tracy, he did wonders, so long as he was in the temple, that is to say, with those little miracles which are found to be false when they are carefully investigated—mere superstitions of ignorant monks—but which have the appearance of being at least inspired by some devotion. . . . It is most necessary that Bélinde [her mother, the Dowager Princesse de Condé] should not see Tracy. Endeavour

¹ Presumably, La Moussaye, as the governor of Stenai and one of Madame de Longueville's oldest and most intimate friends, had thought it his duty to rebuke the importunities of Tracy.

therefore, I entreat you, to prevent it, this poor creature being so enslaved by his infatuation, that he may tell her extravagant tales, of which it is well that Bélinde should be ignorant. Let me know what reasons you employ to prevent this interview, and what you have given Bélinde to account for the separation between Tracy and the wife of Ciaxa [Madame de Longueville], in order that I may conform to what you have told her. . . . As for Artemas [the Chevalier de Gramont] he is a little more enlightened, and if he cannot pass for being possessed of the true heavenly knowledge, one can at least believe that it is a temptation of the devil which causes him to see phantoms, and makes him take them for divine visions. They [Tracy and Gramont] have left the confessor they had chosen [Madame de Longueville], rather ill-satisfied with him ; for this good Father had publicly exposed the weakness of Tracy and had effectually conjured the phantoms of Artemas ; for, as he took them for angels of light, he was much enamoured of them. There were a hundred little follies in the conduct of these good souls ; but we shall not hear them spoken of during the whole of Advent, since they have changed their convent and joined Turenne ; so that, La Moussaye having departed in another fashion,¹ Père Hesmond² has every reason to be content."

¹ La Moussaye, as we have already mentioned, had died in November, 1650.

² No doubt La Rochefoucauld, who had apparently taken umbrage at the attentions which Tracy, Gramont, and La Moussaye were reported to be paying to Madame de Longueville.

If the portion of Madame de Longueville's letter which we have just cited is consecrated to affairs of gallantry, the earlier part is mainly political, and much less obscure, and reveals the writer under a different aspect. The Princess Palatine appears to have recognised, ever since the pacification of Bordeaux, the futility of further armed resistance to the Government, and that the only hope of obtaining the liberation of the princes lay either in a reconciliation between their party and Mazarin, and a return on the part of the House of Condé to its policy before 1649, or in an alliance with the Frondeurs and the Parlement to destroy the Cardinal. She inclined strongly to the former course, and in a letter to which Madame de Longueville's is a reply, but which has unfortunately not³ been preserved, had urged her to consent to it, at the same time pointing out that, in the event of this alliance not being possible, a treaty with the Frondeurs was the only alternative. To cement the latter alliance, she suggested a marriage between the Prince de Conti and Anne de Rohan, second daughter of Madame de Montbazon, for which overtures had already been made by the last-named lady, or, in default of that, one between the prince and Mlle. de Chevreuse. Madame de Longueville, however, was of a different opinion. She had the strongest aversion to negotiate with the Cardinal, unless absolutely forced to do so, and, gauging the feelings of Mazarin by her own, she expresses her conviction that he would never resign himself to a reconciliation with the party

of the princes, unless to prevent an alliance between it and the Frondeurs; and it would, therefore, be wiser to open negotiations with the latter, by which means they would either compel the Cardinal to treat with the princes on terms advantageous to them, or, if he remained contumacious, be able to compass his overthrow. To bring this about, she declares herself willing to consent to the marriage between the Prince de Conti and Anne de Rohan, although she entertained a strong aversion to it, and would prefer one between her brother and Mlle. de Chevreuse, notwithstanding the somewhat dubious reputation which that damsel enjoyed.

“I conclude these preliminary observations,” she writes, “to speak to you of the different hopes which we must place in an alliance with the Cardinal or with the Frondeurs. The first course appears to me to be the most prompt, but I confess that nothing save necessity will induce me to adopt it. I am persuaded, also, that the Cardinal is of a similar disposition in regard to us, and that he will form no resolution favourable to *Monsieur le Prince*, until he believes himself without any other resource. It is, therefore, unnecessary in my opinion to await developments in that quarter, basing our action on the fact that the Cardinal will never liberate *Monsieur le Prince*, except when forced to do so, and that it will be solely his own interests, and not our persuasions, which will induce him to take the resolution. The understanding with Beaufort might be followed by some prompt

result, since an attempt might be made to rescue *Monsieur le Prince*;¹ for Beaufort would be of no use except in this affair; and I think that, were he to undertake it, it would be impossible to refuse our consent to the proposal which Aretaphile [Madame de Montbazon] makes of the marriage between her daughter and the Prince de Conti. It is only on this condition that Madame de Beaulieu [Madame de Longueville] would consent to it. . . .

“ . . . You see, therefore, that it is only as the price of this service that Madame de Beaulieu [Madame de Longueville] would give her consent, and you will tell M. d’Herbois [the Princess Palatine] to keep back this promise to the end. I am more favourably inclined to the other affair of which you speak to me; and the marriage of Mlle. Trasibule [evidently Mlle. de Chevreuse], although it can only be a clandestine one, would seem to me to be of the greatest importance. *It is therefore to this that we must adhere*, if that be possible, and remove from the mind of this fair damsel all the scruples which so bold an action might arouse there. She will not be the first who has risked something of her reputation in order to secure an establishment for life; and, further, the majority of her relatives will support her, and her lovers, particularly Patemas [the Duc d’Orléans] and

¹ Madame de Longueville was apparently unaware at the time when she wrote that the princes had already been removed from Marcoussis to Havre.

95 [Retz],¹ will of course be constrained to hold their tongues, on accóunt of the influence of her husband, who will place her in a position where she need not fear slander. In short, I counsel this marriage, however clandestine it may be, and, if it is desired, I will even subscribe to it."

Under date December 21, that is to say, soon after the news of the Battle of Rethel had reached Paris, the Palatine returns to the charge, and again presses Madame de Longueville to consent to negotiations being opened with Mazarin; pointing out the advantages to be derived from such an alliance, and assuring her that she is informed by common friends of herself and the Court party that the Cardinal will not be unwilling to treat with the princes. At the same time, taking into consideration the uncertainty of the political situation and the desire of the princes to secure at any price the termination of their captivity, which had already lasted nearly a year, she proposed to keep the Frondeurs as a second string to her bow, and advises that negotiations should be begun simultaneously with them, though without committing themselves too far. She begs Madame de Longueville to send her her orders on the subject, and, knowing well how entirely her friend was dominated by La Rochefoucauld, tells her that she has sent to Poitou

¹ In Victor Cousin's opinion, it is not necessary to take too literally the word "lover," as applied to Orléans; but the nature of the relations between Mlle. de Chevreuse and the coadjutor was a matter of common knowledge.

to secure his authority to treat with the Fronde, and to beg that he himself will come to Paris, to treat with the Court.

THE PRINCESS PALATINE TO MADAME DE
LONGUEVILLE.

"21st December, 1650.

"The Cardinal wrote yesterday to him who has spoken on his behalf to M. d'Herbois [the Princess Palatine], and told him to inform her that success [the victory of Rethel] has not in any way altered the intention that he had revealed to her ; that, on the contrary, he finds thereby reasons to confirm him the more in it. I have seen the letter with my own eyes, and this singular care makes me almost hope for something advantageous. I have learned, from another source, things which rather strengthen this opinion. Nevertheless, one ought not to be assured of anything until one sees the results. The Maréchal de Gramont has also received a letter, which would further persuade me that the Cardinal, who has confidence in him, has formed a real design to treat with the princes.¹

"We must take care that this negotiation is shared with no one but La Rochefoucauld, and I hope that we shall bring it to a conclusion. I await news from him on this matter ; the lay brother [Gourville] has left to-day [for Poitou], and ought to return immedi-

¹ The Maréchal de Gramont was a firm friend of Condé, although his loyalty to the Crown had prevented him espousing the prince's cause against the Court, as his younger brother, the chevalier, had done.

ately. If the business with the Cardinal advances, it is necessary for La Rochefoucauld to come here to conclude it. You can well understand that, in making the Cardinal see that, to secure the Prince de Conti, it is essential for him to possess the friendship of La Rochefoucauld, he will understand that that will not injure him with Madame de Longueville, on whose support he bases his principal hopes. If this affair succeeds, it is certain that Madame de Longueville will derive great advantages from both sides, and La Rochefoucauld, also, far more than through an alliance with the Frondeurs, whose help, although it should not be rejected, will not produce similar results, unless after many difficulties and perhaps after long years.

“We must, of course, make use of the Frondeurs, if we are unable to dispense with them ; but we shall do it in a way which will not deprive us of the means of accepting, without failing in our word, the liberty of the princes, when we are able to obtain it from the Cardinal. . . I have warned La Rochefoucauld of everything that is happening here ; I await news from him in regard to the manner in which he desires me to enter into the treaty with the Frondeurs, and what promises he wishes me to make, on his behalf, to the coadjutor and Beaufort. It is believed that the Cardinal will arrive here to-morrow or Monday. His return will without doubt produce some great change ; for it is held for certain that Monseigneur le Duc d’Orléans is now entirely for the Frondeurs, and, if he does not change within the next few days, he

must destroy the Cardinal altogether, or the Cardinal must commit some act of violence against the coadjutor and Beaufort. The latter are very much on their guard just at present."

Madame de Longueville, however, had not waited for the above letter to decide that the time had now arrived when she could no longer afford to consult her own inclinations ; and, on the morrow of the defeat of Rethel, she wrote to the Princess Palatine, giving her full power to act as she thought best and to treat with the Court.

MADAME DE LONGUEVILLE TO THE PRINCESS
PALATINE.

"December 16th, 1650.

"I learn at the hour in which I am writing to you of the defeat of M. de Turenne and of the taking of Rethel. I expect that I shall know to-morrow that Stenai is to be besieged ; for, since Madame de Longueville has only that to fear, one cannot doubt that it will come to pass. . . I have received your letter of December 2, which was the twentieth letter, and I expect that Gourville will have brought you the answer you desired from me on the subject of the Cardinal. I sent by him a letter of authority for the Cardinal,¹ before even I knew that that would be necessary. It will be for you to see what can be done, since, for myself, *I will subscribe to everything upon*

¹ Presumably, a letter accepting the responsibility of any agreement which La Rochefoucauld and the Princess Palatine might enter into with the Minister.

which you may resolve. I am so ashamed to charge you, as I am doing, with all the unhappy destiny of a ruined House, which brings misfortune upon all who do not declare against it ; and I do not accept, save with the most intense reluctance, the means that your kindness proposes to me of emerging from all my miseries, since I fear that, in the end, the part which you deign to take will give you an important share in them. In good truth, my fears on this subject redouble ; and I would desire that Fortune had already overwhelmed me, so that I might believe that you were out of the danger which my fatal friendship causes you to incur. I do not tell you that it makes you now the one solace of my woes, since I should fear that your compassion would augment, which alone can bring you more misfortune than any evil star under which you may have been born.

“ . . . M. de Turenne has lost few people, that is to say, few troops ; ¹ but, according to report, many officers. Philip, Prince Palatine, ² is killed, and it is said that M. de Boutteville and several others have been taken prisoners ; but we do not know any particulars as yet. It is believed that the French will push forward and will advance straight upon Stenai, so that Madame de Longueville will be constrained to a second flight. I leave to you, if you will be so kind, the care of

¹ Madame de Longueville was misinformed ; 3,000 prisoners had been taken, and Turenne's own regiment, which had refused to surrender, had been almost cut to pieces.

² The younger brother of Edward of Bavaria, husband of Anne de Gonzague, seventh son of the Elector Palatine.

sending my news in detail to M. d'Hesmond [La Rochefoucauld], for I am only able to write this note. Adieu ; believe that, whatever I become, I shall always be more yours than my own. All my affairs do not prevent me from thinking constantly of what you must do soon ;¹ it gives me more anxiety than my own affairs, for you constitute at present all the consolation of my life."

At the end of December, 1650, La Rochefoucauld arrived in Paris. As, after the surrender of Bordeaux, he had been banished to his estates and was liable to be arrested, if discovered in the capital, he came with the utmost secrecy, and remained concealed in the house of the Princess Palatine. That lady had already begun negotiations with the Frondeurs, who, well aware that an alliance between Mazarin and the party of the princes would mean their own political extinction, were eager to anticipate him. But the Palatine, as we have seen, greatly preferred, for the princes and for herself, an alliance with the Court ; and, having obtained full powers from Madame de Longueville to treat with Mazarin on behalf of her brothers, was determined to use every endeavour to persuade the Cardinal to renew with Condé that alliance which, up to the end of 1648, had been of such service to both, and from which the Crown and France had derived such immense advantages. Only in the event of the failure of these negotiations, did she intend to conclude an alliance with the Fronde.

¹ According to Victor Cousin, this refers to the approaching accouchement of the Princess Palatine.

In her task, the princess was loyally seconded by La Rochefoucauld, although, as we may suppose, from what we already know of that nobleman's character and aims, his motives were far from disinterested. "The Duc de La Rochefoucauld," says Madame de Motteville, "never having had any esteem or regard for the Frondeurs, tried to persuade the Minister to set the princes at liberty, and thus acquire for himself the sole credit of doing them this service. He was then in Paris, hiding in the house of the Princess Palatine, where, without the knowledge of the Duc de Beaufort, Madame de Chevreuse, or the coadjutor, all the propositions which were made were communicated to him. The ways of the Frondeurs did not please him ; that of the Court would have been very agreeable to him. He believed, with reason, that, by bringing about a renewal of peace and union between the Prince de Condé and the Minister, he himself would obtain some high reward ; and he saw with pleasure that, in this instance, his interest and his duty went together. He accordingly caused the Minister to be informed that he desired to see him, and asked for a safeguard for his person, written by his own hand, which he easily obtained. Bartet, a creature of the Cardinal just so far as it suited him to appear so,¹ and who was mixed up in many intrigues, took the Duc de La Rochefoucauld to negotiate with

¹ Madame de Motteville is in error concerning Bartet, who was certainly faithful to the hand which fed him, since he continued to enjoy the Cardinal's full confidence down to the time of the latter's death.

the Cardinal. He entered his apartments in the Palais-Royal by a little secret staircase ; and the Minister alone, with a candle in his hand, opened the door to them. I have heard the Duc de La Rochefoucauld say that, since the Cardinal came alone to the door, he could easily have killed him, and that he had often admired his confidence in the danger which he incurred, delivering himself into the power of the best friend whom *Monsieur le Prince* and Madame de Longueville had. The Minister, at the same time, might have had the duke arrested ; but, good faith being equal on both sides, the Duc de La Rochefoucauld neglected nothing to induce the Minister to turn to the party of the Prince de Condé. Without revealing to him the depth of the mystery, he told him repeatedly that he would soon see a great persecution break out against him, and said all he could to convince him that danger threatened him. But the Minister, who feared the Prince de Condé's audacity, Madame de Longueville's intrigues, and the ambition of the Duc de La Rochefoucauld himself, would not listen to his warnings, and gave him no definite answer."

It is somewhat difficult to understand why Mazarin, who, in the midst of the complicated intrigues which surrounded him, had always shown such remarkable astuteness, should have hesitated to accept the propositions of La Rochefoucauld. Probably, he overrated the effect of the victory of Rethel, and the triumphant campaign of the royal army on the frontier, upon internal politics ; and imagined that, after having so

signally worsted his enemies in the field, he could afford to ignoré for a while their machinations in the capital, and follow his personal inclinations, which were as strongly opposed to subjecting himself again to the insolent dictation of Condé as to gratifying the ambition of a man as turbulent and dangerous as he considered Retz. He appears to have imagined, besides, that ere long he would be able to detach the vacillating Orléans from his alliance with the Frondeurs ; while, singularly enough, though he had refused to be guided by the counsels of Madame de Chevreuse, he continued to trust her, and was confident that she would refuse to take part in any intrigues against himself. However that may be, it is certain that Mazarin's cunning for once failed him, and that, by neglecting to decide definitely, as he had twelve months before, between the two Frondes, he exasperated both and united them against him.

La Rochefoucauld and the Princess Palatine, believing that the Cardinal was tricking them, resolved to act with more vigour. On December 2, the Princesse de Condé had presented a petition to the Parlement praying for the release of her husband, on the ground that his imprisonment was a violation of the declaration of October, 1648 ; and, in spite of the efforts of the law-officers of the Crown, who maintained that the imprisonment of the princes was a question outside the jurisdiction of the courts, the magistrates had insisted on deliberating upon it, and had finally voted solemn remonstrances demanding

the liberation of the captives. On the pretext of ill health, the Regent succeeded in postponing the consideration of this request for some three weeks ; but, urged on by the partisans of the princes, the Parlement continued to press for an answer ; and at length, on January 20, 1651, Anne of Austria consented to receive a deputation from the Palais de Justice. Molé, always friendly to Condé, and whose predilections in the prince's favour had been strengthened by the latter's long and illegal detention, proceeded to express the views of the Parlement with a freedom which astonished and scandalised the Court, and so angered the young king, that he declared that, had he not feared to give offence to his mother, he would have silenced him and driven him from his presence.

Comparing the glory of the first years of the Regency with the misfortunes of recent times, the First President attributed all the success to Orléans and Condé, and all the reverses to Mazarin. The evils which had followed the arrest of the princes, he declared, showed the impolicy of that act, and all loyal subjects of the King desired the release of the captives and the union of the Royal Family, which constituted the strength of the kingdom.

The Queen, who had supported this harangue with an impatience which she made but small attempt to conceal, deferred her answer until January 30 ; on which day, the Keeper of the Seals informed the Parlement, in her name, that their Majesties would set the princes at liberty, when their partisans had

laid down their arms. This, of course, meant that their release was postponed indefinitely, since neither Madame de Longueville nor Turenne was at all likely to purchase it on those terms.

Meanwhile, in despair of persuading Mazarin to a reconciliation with the House of Condé, the Palatine and La Rochefoucauld had decided to throw themselves into the arms of Retz and his associates ; and, on the same day on which the Queen's reply was announced to the Parlement, articles of alliance between the two Frondes were signed. The contracting parties were, on the side of the princes, the Palatine, the Duc de Nemours, the Président Viole, the Comte de Maure, Arnould de Corberville,¹ a general of cavalry and a devoted admirer of Condé, and Fouquet-Croissy, a counsellor to the Parlement and a common friend of the coadjutor and *Monsieur le Prince* ; and, on the side of the Old Fronde, Beaufort, Retz, Louis de Cossé, Duc de Brissac, and François de Montmorency Marquis de Fosseuse.

These articles were embodied in a general treaty and several separate personal treaties. The general treaty stipulated that the princes should be set at liberty and Mazarin driven from office ; Condé was not to demand the office of Constable, the revival of which in his favour he was believed to desire, nor to make any changes in the Council, without the consent of Orléans ; while the princes promised to honour with their friendship the adherents of

¹ See p. 8 *supra*.

Monsieur, especially Beaufort, Retz, and Noirmoutier.¹ The private conventions guaranteed various advantages to the principal contracting parties. By one, it was agreed that the Duc d'Enghien should espouse one of the daughters of Gaston, when the parties should have reached a suitable age. By another, which contained the germ of much future trouble, the Princess Palatine promised, "in the name and in virtue of the authority which she had received from the prince and Madame de Longueville, and engaged the faith and honour of M. le Prince de Conti that, so soon as he should be at liberty, he would espouse Mlle. de Chevreuse in the face of our Holy Mother Church." A third, signed by the Palatine and the Duc de Nemours, promised to the Duchesse de Montbazou 100,000 écus, in return for which that lady engaged to control Beaufort and his followers in the interests of the princes. Finally, the last treaty guaranteed to Châteauneuf, the Keeper of the Seals, the post of Prime Minister, after the expulsion of Mazarin, and to Retz the support of the princes to obtain for him a cardinal's hat.²

¹ Much difficulty was experienced in securing the co-operation of the irresolute Gaston, and even Retz's persuasive powers were for a time of no avail. If we are to believe the coadjutor, his consent was finally obtained almost by force. Caumartin, Retz's secretary, followed him about for several days, the treaty in one pocket, and a pen and an inkstand in the other. At length, he caught him between two doors, put the pen between his fingers, "and *Monsieur* signed," said Madame de Chevreuse, "as he would have signed a treaty with the devil, if he had been afraid of being surprised by his guardian angel."

² The full text of these treaties has been published by Victor Cousin, in his *Madame de Longueville pendant la Fronde* (edit. 1859), pp. 371-384.



ARMAND DE BOURBON, PRINCE DE CONTI.

From a contemporary print.

Events now marched rapidly. On February 1, the Parlement délibéré on the Queen's response to their demands for the liberation of the princes ; and Retz, on behalf of Orléans, who, with his usual timidity, had declined to make the announcement himself, informed the assembled magistrates that the duke had decided to co-operate with them, and to do all in his power to secure the release of his cousins. The Parlement sent a deputation to the Luxembourg, to learn if such were really his intention, and Orléans answered in the affirmative.

In the afternoon of the same day, there was a stormy interview between *Monsieur*, the Queen, and Mazarin, at the Palais-Royal, when the Cardinal compared the Frondeurs to Fairfax and Cromwell, and declared that, like the chiefs of the English revolution, they wished, in attacking the Minister, to destroy royalty itself ; to which the duke angrily retorted that royalty was in no way concerned, since the only question at issue was the deplorable policy of the Cardinal.

On the morrow, Orléans, to whom, for the moment, Retz appears to have succeeded in communicating something of his own restless energy, sent for Châteauneuf, the Maréchal de Villeroi—the King's *gouverneur*—and Le Tellier, whom he informed that he refused to assist at the Council or return to the Palais-Royal, so long as Mazarin remained there. He further declared that it was his belief that the Queen intended to escape from Paris and take her son with her, and that Villeroi should answer with his head for the

security of his Majesty's person; after which, he sent orders to the Provost of the Merchants and the sheriffs to place guards around the Palais-Royal, to prevent the execution of any such design.

The Cardinal, now thoroughly alarmed, at length decided to treat with the princes, and accordingly despatched the Maréchal de Gramont to Havre; but this tardy negotiation served only to stimulate the hatred of his enemies, determined not to leave to him the credit of delivering Condé and of treating with him. On February 4, Orléans proceeded to the Palais de Justice, where he repeated the declaration which he had already given in favour of the release of the princes, and related the scene at the Palais-Royal, where Mazarin had compared his opponents to the English revolutionaries. The indignation of the assembly was indescribable, and it forthwith voted that their Majesties should be asked, not only to liberate the princes, but also to dismiss the Cardinal Mazarin. On the 6th, a deputation from the Parlement presented this request to Anne of Austria, who replied that they should receive her answer the next day. In vain the Queen sent to summon Orléans to the Palais-Royal, willing to make any concession he might demand, if only she might be allowed to retain her beloved Cardinal. But, for once, Gaston was firm, and Mazarin, learning that the citizens had taken up arms on the duke's orders, and fearing that he might be arrested and delivered to the vengeance of his enemies, decided to bow before the storm, and to leave Paris.

On the night of February 6-7, accompanied by the Comte de Broglie and another gentleman, he secretly quitted the city, by the Porte de Richelieu, and retired to Saint-Germain. Before his departure, he had instructed Anne of Austria as to the course which she was to pursue. He hoped that Orléans and the Parliament, satisfied with his retirement from office, would not insist on his expulsion from the kingdom; and that he might, if Anne could contrive to postpone the release of the princes, yet be enabled to make an alliance with Condé and return under the ægis of his protection. Should, however, his enemies be determined to push matters to extremities, the King and Queen were to endeavour to make their escape from Paris and join the Cardinal, when they would retire into Normandy, which was now entirely loyal. "Outside Paris," he wrote, "their Majesties are masters of all; for they have soldiers, fortresses, and the princes in their power, and need have no fear of being compelled to do anything which does not please them." In the event of it being found impossible for their Majesties to escape, the Queen was to refuse as long as possible her consent to the unconditional liberation of the princes, so that the Cardinal might have time to proceed to Havre and liberate them himself; for which purpose, he had provided himself with a written order signed by the Regent.

Mazarin's hopes were vain. On the 7th, the Parlement voted their thanks to the Queen for the

dismissal of the Cardinal, but coupled with it a demand for the release of the princes, and for the banishment of Mazarin without hope of return ; and, two days later, issued a decree which enjoined upon "the Cardinal Mazarin, his relations, and foreign domestics to evacuate the kingdom of France within fifteen days." Moreover, Le Tellier, having had the indiscretion to reveal the projected flight of their Majesties to Châteauneuf and the King's *gouverneur*, Villeroy, in whose loyalty the Queen still believed, the latter warned the Frondeurs, who promptly raised the citizens ; and the King and Queen found themselves prisoners in their own palace. At the same time, the coadjutor and his associates threatened that, if Anne did not immediately sign the order for the release of the prisoners, she should be deposed from her office of Regent in favour of Orléans, and that the superintendence of the young king's education should also be given to that prince ; and, on February 10, the Queen at length yielded to their demands.

Finding that his enemies were determined on his expulsion, and that there was no hope of their Majesties being permitted to join him, Mazarin had already left Saint-Germain for Havre. At Lillebonne he was overtaken by a courier with a letter from the Queen, informing him that she had been forced to sign an order for the release of the princes. He hastened on, and reached Havre on the morning of February 13, some time before the arrival of the Secretary of State, La Vrillière, who had been charged to carry thither the

Queen's order of the 10th. Entering the room where the princes were confined, the Cardinal informed them that they were now free, and asked for their friendship and support for the King, for the Regent, and for himself. They dined together, though the meal seems to have been a somewhat embarrassing function, after which Conti and Longueville withdrew, and Mazarin spent some two hours in endeavouring to convince Condé that Orléans, instigated by Retz, had been the chief instrument of his incarceration, and that his release had been granted at the Cardinal's own solicitation. But he got nothing for his pains, save some vague assurances of friendship ;¹ and thus, after having refused to accept the opportunity offered him by the Palatine and La Rochefoucauld of delivering Condé on terms which would have assured him the support of the prince, he ended by granting it without any condition whatever.

The preparations for the departure of the princes were soon completed ; and, escorted by Mazarin, they proceeded to the coach which was waiting to take them to Paris. The Cardinal bowed low before Condé, so low indeed, that his enemies subsequently asserted that he embraced his knees.² But Condé was never

¹ "I did not set them (the princes) at liberty unconditionally," wrote the Cardinal to Le Tellier, "since they promised me to attach themselves before all and irreparably to the Queen, and to conform absolutely to her will in all things. . . . They all promised me, several times, an entire friendship."—Letter of February 15, published by Chéruel.

² *Mademoiselle*, who asserts that Condé himself was her authority, says that Mazarin "kissed his boot."

remarkable for magnanimity, and his only acknowledgment of this act of humility is said to have been a burst of mocking laughter.

At Saint-Denis, the princes were met by 5,000 gentlemen on horseback, who escorted them in triumph to the capital, where they were received with the utmost enthusiasm. The same people who had lighted bonfires and discharged muskets from joy at their arrest, thirteen months before, now indulged in similar demonstrations in celebration of their release. *Monsieur* gave a magnificent supper in their honour, and Madame de Chevreuse, a ball, and "all the earth visited *Monsieur le Prince* at his hôtel." Their Majesties, still, to all intents and purposes, prisoners in the Palais-Royal, disguising their feelings, received them courteously, and the young King "embraced his cousin." Finally, on February 25, a royal ordinance, ratified two days later, amid loud applause, by the Parlement, proclaimed the innocence of the princes, and reinstated them in their governments and other dignities and offices.

As for the fallen Minister, after lingering for some weeks in Picardy, in the hope that the princes might redeem the promise that they had given him, he made his way, accompanied by his nephew and nieces, who had joined him at Péronne, to Brühl, near Cologne.

CHAPTER XVIII

Return of Madame de Longueville to Paris—Her brilliant position at this moment—Power of the alliance between the two Frondes—Its designs against the royal authority—Question of the convocation of the States-General—The Queen, instructed by Mazarin, works to divide the coalition—Secret negotiations between the Court and Condé—Recall of Chavigny and dismissal of Châteauneuf, the Keeper of the Seals—Meeting of the leaders of the coalition at the Luxembourg : exasperation of the Frondeurs—Condé declines to countenance the violent measures advocated by them—Importance of the marriage arranged between the Prince de Conti and Mlle. de Chevreuse—Efforts of Mazarin and the Court to prevent it—The marriage is broken off by Condé—Explanation of his conduct—Question of Madame de Longueville's responsibility considered—Resentment of Madame de Chevreuse, who offers her services to the Cardinal—The alliance between the Old Fronde and the party of the princes is dissolved.

MADAME DE LONGUEVILLE remained with Turenne, at Stenai, for three weeks after the triumphant return of her husband and her brothers to Paris, for the purpose of freeing themselves from the engagements into which they had entered with Spain for the deliverance of the princes, and of negotiating a truce, which, it was hoped, would pave the way to the general peace so much desired. The negotiation was a difficult one, since the Spaniards, very dissatisfied at the turn matters had taken, were in no hurry to liberate their allies from their obligation not to lay down their arms until peace had been concluded.

Condé pressed his sister to return to Paris,¹ being of opinion that the negotiations could best be carried on from there ; but the lady, as will be gathered from the following letter, seemed to imagine that her presence at Stenai was indispensable ; and there can be no doubt that the Spanish Ministers at Brussels entertained a very high opinion of her abilities, and perhaps reposed more confidence in her sense of honour than in that of the other leaders of her party.

MADAME DE LONGUEVILLE TO THE PRINCE DE
CONDÉ.

" STENAI,

" 24 *February*, 1651.

"Gourville will tell you why I cannot start to-morrow, as my letter assured you, and the reasons which oblige me to await the reply of the Spaniards before setting out on my journey. I am confident that you will not disapprove of them, and that you will be very willing to procure for us, as promptly as possible, a suspension of arms on the Meuse, which will be of all things in the world that which will justify my journey most, will be most agreeable to M. de Turenne, and will give me the most confidence with the Spaniards. I no longer entreat you to do so after Gourville shall have told you the reasons, since you will understand the necessity of the thing better yourself than I could show you. Adieu, my dear brother ;

¹ Madame de Longueville had been included in the ordinance which recognised the innocence of her husband and brothers.

I am dying with desire to see you and to assure you that I am more yours than my own.

“ M. de Turenne, who is here, begs me to convey to you most courteous messages ; and I myself tell you that he is concluding the affair as he began it, that is to say, with feelings and in a way so obliging towards you, that I believe that I ought to acquaint you with it, being well aware that such news will not displease you.”¹

At length, on March 7, having despatched Sarrasin to Brussels, to thank the Archduke for the good offices which he had rendered her during her disgrace, and to assure him that she would continue to do everything in her power to procure a truce between France and Spain, during which proposals for a final peace might be the more easily discussed, she quitted Stenai and set out for Paris. Her journey resembled a triumphal progress. At Verdun, the citizen militia came out to meet her at some distance from the town and escorted her to the house of the governor, the Comte de Feuquières, where she passed the night ; and a similar reception awaited her in the other towns through which she passed. At Châlons-sur-Marne, she was met by the Prince de Conti, and on the 13th she arrived in Paris, where she found herself the heroine of the hour, and every one, says the *Gazette*, “ applauded her heroic actions.” Gaston d’Orléans, accompanied by *Mademoiselle* and a *cortège* of ladies of the highest rank, hastened to visit her ; and on the same day she

¹ *Archives de Condé*, Chantilly, published by the Duc d’Aumale.

waited upon their Majesties, who, dissimulating their feelings, as they had done when receiving the princes, accorded her a very gracious reception.

This moment is, indeed, without question, the most brilliant of Madame de Longueville's career. On her return from Münster, in 1647, the universal homage paid her had been, in great part, a tribute to the power of the House of Condé, and to the influence which she was known to exercise over her elder brother. After her return from Stenai, her triumph was, in some sense, a personal one. She had, during the past fourteen months, given proofs of qualities which had raised her almost to the level of Condé himself. In Normandy, she had displayed a courage and a devotion which had evoked the admiration of all ; at Stenai, she had shown that she was a force to be reckoned with in both French and European politics. Undismayed by the reverses of her House, she had taken upon herself the direction of its destinies, had treated on equal terms with Spain, had organised armies, and discussed with generals their plans of campaign ; and when, worsted in the field, her cause seemed on the verge of ruin, her skilfully-conducted intrigues had recovered at one stroke all that had been lost, liberated the princes, and driven the detested Cardinal into exile. In a word, Madame de Longueville had reached the summit of her ambition ; the dazzling prize which La Rochefoucauld had dangled before her eyes, in order to conceal the selfishness of his own designs, was hers. To the sighs

of her lovers and the flattery of sycophants was now added the applause of statesmen. She had become a great political personage.

Few women, save those born to rule, have been able to resist the intoxication of such a position, and Madame de Longueville was not one of the exceptions. The haughtiness which had begun to manifest itself after the Peace of Rueil was now a subject of general comment, and deeply offended many whose friendship it would have been politic to secure. "She received," says Madame de Motteville, "with a disdainful smile, not only the people of Paris, but the greatest nobles who came to pay homage at her house." Her influence over her brothers, whom she had placed under such immense obligations, was, of course, greater than ever, and, ignoring the lessons of the past, she exercised it as freely and with as little discretion as before. The fatal errors into which they soon fell were, in a large measure, the result of her counsels ; for, great as were undoubtedly her abilities, she had none of the sagacity, none of the cool judgment of her friend the Princess Palatine, and did not hesitate to sacrifice their interests and her own under the sway of feminine passion.

Condé, on his side, had not learned wisdom from adversity. The turbulence of the third Prince de Condé had, as we have seen, been effectually cooled by the three years' imprisonment which he had suffered in the early part of the previous reign ; but Louis de Bourbon was entirely destitute of the

prudence which had tempered his father's greed and ambition. His years of confinement seemed only to have accentuated that impatience of all control, that haughtiness of manner, and that contemptuous disregard for the feelings and opinions of others which he had always shown. Restored to liberty, under circumstances which seemed to promise him an almost undisputed ascendancy, he returned to Paris more than ever determined to carry matters with a high hand. But, to exercise the power which he desired, the maintenance of the alliance which had opened his prison doors and procured the exile of Mazarin was essential; and Condé, though possessed of the highest military gifts, had none of the qualities necessary for successful political leadership.

The coalition of the Fronde and the princes, so long as the concord which had assured their triumph continued, seemed irresistible, since not only did it comprise many of the great families of the kingdom, but it dominated the Parlement, and was favourably regarded by the provincial nobility, the clergy, and the populace of Paris. But, to maintain this good understanding, even for a short period, was no easy task, since such a confederacy could not be, from its very nature, more than a temporary one, composed as it was of two parties actuated by purely selfish motives, whose jealousy and suspicion of each other were only exceeded by their hatred of the man whom they regarded as their common enemy. The fear of Mazarin once removed, the rivalries which had for

the moment been composed were sure to break forth again, and sooner or later to lead to the dissolution of the alliance.

This danger the Princess Palatine had foreseen, and it was with the idea of averting it that she had urged the marriage of the Prince de Conti to Mlle. de Chevreuse, which would unite the House of Condé to the great families of Rohan, Luynes, and Lorraine,¹ and that of the Duc d'Enghien to a daughter of *Monsieur*. The question of a marriage between Beaufort and Mlle. de Longueville was also again discussed; but, of the three projected alliances, the first was immeasurably the most important. "It would give for ever the House of Condé to the Fronde, and the Fronde to the House of Condé; for the Fronde was Madame de Chevreuse, who controlled, through her daughter, Retz, who, in his turn, controlled Orléans and the Parlement."²

At first, Condé strove with some success to subdue the natural haughtiness and impetuosity of his character, in order to avoid wounding the members of the party with which he found himself associated. All the questions which were to be submitted to the Council in the presence of the Queen were first debated at the Luxembourg, at meetings which were attended by the Duc d'Orléans, *Monsieur le Prince*, the coadjutor, and Beaufort. The Keeper of the

¹ The Duchesse de Chevreuse was a Rohan; she had married, *en premières noces*, the Connétable de Luynes; while her second husband was a member of the House of Lorraine.

² Victor Cousin, *Madame de Longueville pendant la Fronde*.

Seals, Châteauneuf, their secret ally, gave them early information of every matter which was to come up for discussion.

Mazarin, who, from his retreat at Brühl (through the agency of Bartet and other skilful emissaries) kept up an active correspondence with the Queen, and with his faithful henchmen, Servien, Lionne, and Le Tellier, and continued to direct all their actions, was much alarmed on being informed of these assemblies. His letters show that he feared that the Frondeurs intended to deprive Anne of the regency, and he also seems to have been apprehensive that an attempt might be made to carry off the young King. In a letter to Lionne, he advises that, if the Queen had any suspicions of the fidelity of the King's *gouverneur*, the Maréchal de Villeroi, he should be dismissed.; as, though naturally timid, if urged on by the princes and the Keeper of the Seals, he would be "capable of anything." "The Maréchal d'Aumont must be very much on the alert," he continues, "and the officer of the Gardes du Corps and other captains, also, should always be stationed in the garden, when his Majesty goes there, as well as certain trustworthy persons, for example, the Duc de Mercœur, the Comte d'Harcourt, and others like them."¹

It is doubtful if the coalition ever entertained any serious intention of securing the person of Louis XIV. by the means against which Mazarin was so anxious that precautions should be taken; but it is certain

¹ *Affaires étrangères, Lettres de Mazarin*, published by Chéruei.

that they desired to deprive Anne of Austria of the regency. The first suggestion was that the Queen should be arrested and shut up in the Val-de-Grâce, while a declaration should be obtained from the Parlement transferring the regency to Orléans or Condé. If we are to believe La Rochefoucauld, both parties would willingly have agreed to this measure, "But," he adds, "*Monsieur le Prince*, who returned as it were in triumph, was still too much dazzled with the splendour of his liberation to see very distinctly all that he might undertake. Perhaps, too, the magnitude of the enterprise prevented him from perceiving its facility." Any way, Condé showed himself unfavourably disposed towards the project, and it was accordingly determined to proceed by more constitutional means. This was to convene the States-General, the convocation of which had been demanded by the assembly of the clergy, and very recently by a great body of nobles which had been called together to demand the liberation of the princes, and was still holding its sessions at the Cordeliers; and to make use of it to modify profoundly the constitution of the realm. The Estates were to be asked to deprive Anne of Austria of the regency; to impose upon the young King a Council composed of twenty-one persons: the Queen, Orléans, Condé, and eighteen other members, six of whom were to be elected by each of the three Estates; and, finally, to postpone the majority of the King who, in accordance with the ancient laws of the realm, came of age on the following

September 7, on completing his thirteenth year, until he had attained the age of eighteen. The Estates were also to demand that Mazarin should never be permitted to return to France. By these measures, the princes and the Frondeurs counted on being able to prolong their ascendancy for more than four years, and exercise during that period an almost unbridled authority.

The Queen, although at this time unacquainted with all the plans of the faction which menaced the royal authority, foresaw the danger, and, acting on Mazarin's instructions, determined to use every possible means to avert it. The Cardinal was well aware that the Parlement, always very jealous of the national assemblies, was opposed to the convocation of the States-General ; and he accordingly advised her not to reject the demand for the meeting of the Estates, but to adjourn their convocation until after the King's majority. Anne followed his counsel, and had the satisfaction of observing a very pretty quarrel break out between the nobility and the Parlement, which believed that the summoning of the Estates, during the King's minority, might be followed by measures for curtailing its own authority. Encouraged by this and by the indifference of Condé, who was not without apprehension that, if the Estates deprived Anne of the regency, Orléans might succeed her (a consummation which he by no means desired), the Queen remained firm in her refusal to allow the Estates to meet before the autumn ; and, though efforts were made by the

Frondeurs to induce the municipal authorities and the citizens to join with the other Orders in demanding their immediate convocation, the attempt failed, and the Estates were finally convened for September 8, the day following the King's majority.

Thus, not only was a great danger averted, but a serious blow was struck at the harmony between the two sections of the coalition, upon which its strength depended ; for both the Parlement and the nobility had sought to enlist the support of Condé, and each party considered itself aggrieved by the neutral attitude which the prince had assumed, which seemed to them to savour of weakness and ingratitude. As a matter of fact, Condé, who could not forget the part which Orléans and the Frondeurs had played in securing his incarceration, and was under no illusion as to the motives which had induced them to undo their own work, had begun to weary of his connection with a party which he had always regarded with dislike and contempt, and to approach the Court, lured thereto by the proposals of the Queen.

From Brühl, Mazarin was constantly urging his confidants to spare no effort to divide the Houses of Orléans and Condé. "The safety of the State and of their Majesties," he writes to Servien, "depends upon the disunion of these princes, since their said Majesties, by choosing whichever of the two they judge most suitable, could dictate, by this means, the law to the other, and could work, with some promise of success, for the re-establishment of the royal authority." Were it

not that *Monsieur*, he continues, is dominated by Retz, "who is bankrupt in honour and probity," and whose greatest pleasure consists in subverting the monarchy, he would recommend them to seek a *rapprochement* with him, in preference to the Prince de Condé, whose greed is insatiable, who is ungovernable in his passions, and upon whose word and promises experience shows that no reliance can be placed ; but, under the circumstances, he counsels them to select Condé, notwithstanding the grave defects in his character and conduct which he has just indicated.¹

Secret negotiations were accordingly opened with Condé ; and Servien and Lionne promised the prince, in the Queen's name, the government of Guienne, in place of that of Burgundy, which was to be given to the Duc d'Épernon, and allowed him to hope that his brother should receive the government of Provence, if the Comte d'Alais could be prevailed upon to exchange it for Champagne. These concessions would, it is hardly necessary to observe, enormously increase the power of the House of Condé, and render the prince the virtual sovereign of the South of France ; and it is evident, from Mazarin's correspondence, that the two Ministers, in their anxiety to gain Condé, had greatly exceeded the Cardinal's instructions.

On this understanding, Condé promised to raise no objection to certain ministerial changes which Anne

¹ Letter of March 9, 1651.

was contemplating. These were the dismissal of Châteauneuf, the Keeper of the Seals, whose perfidy had rendered him odious to the Queen, and the admission to the Council of Chavigny and the First President, Mathieu Molé, whom Mazarin had recommended to her. Chavigny had been for some time past bitterly hostile to the Cardinal, and had been exiled, as we have seen, in the autumn of 1648 ; but a reconciliation had recently been effected between them, through the good offices of Fabert, the Governor of Sedan, one of Mazarin's most devoted adherents.¹

Great were the astonishment and indignation of Orléans, when, on arriving at the Palais-Royal, on the afternoon of April 3, he found Chavigny, of whose presence in Paris he was even in ignorance, seated at the Council-table. In a tone of the deepest annoyance, he inquired of the Queen why she had taken so important a step without warning him ; to which Anne replied sharply that " he had done so many things lately without consulting her, that he ought not to be surprised if she did the same." A very lively discussion followed, Condé standing by with a malicious smile on his face, which caused Madame de Motteville, who was also present, to decide that " he was not ill pleased at the dissension between the Queen and the Duc d'Orléans." ²

The dispute was interrupted by the arrival of a deputation from the Parlement, which came to seek

¹ On the earlier relations between Mazarin and Chavigny, see p. 28 *supra*.

² Madame de Motteville, *Mémoires*.

a declaration from her Majesty, in accordance with a decree which it had lately passed excluding from the King's Council all who had taken an oath to a foreign sovereign. This measure, which was, of course, aimed at the exclusion of French cardinals, since they took an oath to the Pope, from all share in the Government, affected Retz as well as Mazarin, as the coadjutor's chief reason for desiring the "*chapeau*" was to use it as a stepping-stone to the Ministry. Nevertheless, though the proposal had aroused great indignation among the clergy as a body, the coadjutor had offered but little opposition to it, being well aware that so soon as the King wished to disregard such an edict, he would do so without hesitation. Anne of Austria, for the same reason, had decided to grant the demand of the Parlement, and now returned a favourable answer to the deputation. The matter, however, was regarded very differently by Châteauneuf, who aspired to end a somewhat irregular life in the odour of sanctity and the Roman purple; and he had several times declared that he would never place the seals to so monstrous an edict. Several historians pretend that he now announced his intention of persisting in this resolution, and that the Queen seized the pretext thus afforded her to order him to deliver up the seals. But Le Tellier, who was certainly in a position to know the facts of the matter, states that he promised to seal the declaration "notwithstanding that he had on divers occasions declared that he would refuse to do so."¹

¹ Letter of Le Tellier to Mazarin, April 5, 1651, published by Chéruel.

What is certain, is that Châteauneuf was dismissed that same evening.

Orléans, who had returned to the Luxembourg, was informed of the disgrace of the Keeper of the Seals, by a message from the Queen, which also apprised him that Mathieu Molé had been appointed as his successor. If he had been irritated by the recall of Chavigny, he was positively exasperated by this fresh and far more decisive proof that Anne had determined to ignore the wishes of the Lieutenant-General of the realm. It was, moreover, difficult to believe that the Queen would have ventured to act in this manner, unless she had first assured herself of the neutrality, if not of the approval, of Condé ; and the suspicions which he had for some time entertained in regard to the good faith of his ally were now confirmed. At eleven o'clock that night, a meeting of the leaders of the coalition was convened at the Luxembourg. Orléans acquainted his confederates with what had taken place, pointed out that it was the evident intention of the Regent to act independently of their control, and invited their views as to what measures should be adopted. The indignation of the assembly knew no bounds, and the most violent measures were advocated. Some proposed that they should get to horse, ride straight to Mathieu Molé's house, and order him, on pain of death, to give up the seals. Others wished to excite an insurrection, march to the Palais-Royal, and carry off the King ; and Retz, urged on by Madame and Mlle. de Chevreuse, declared that, if *Monsieur* would give

him but two hours in which to raise the people, he would engage to make him the absolute master of Paris, "Madame de Longueville has since said," observed Madame de Motteville "that that day she believed Paris would be destroyed by fire and blood."

The attitude of Condé cooled the ardour of the Frondeurs, and confirmed their suspicions that a secret understanding existed between him and the Court. While affecting to share their indignation at the conduct of the Queen, he strongly deprecated any such measures as they proposed. His military experience, he declared, would avail him nothing "in a war of chamber-pots and cobble-stones," and he must frankly confess himself a coward when such missiles were flying about. If the Duc d'Orléans, he sarcastically added, felt that nothing but a resort to arms could wipe out this outrage to his dignity, he would retire to his government of Burgundy and raise an army for his Royal Highness's service, leaving to him the privilege of exhibiting his courage at the head of the Paris mob. Then, bowing to the company, he withdrew, followed by his friends; and the discomfited Frondeurs could hear them laughing and jesting, as they descended the steps of the palace, over the war of chamber-pots.

The meeting finally dispersed without any decision being arrived at, as ill pleased with Condé as with the Queen. To pacify Orléans, Anne of Austria, a few days later, availed herself of a dispute between the Chancellor Séguier and Mathieu Molé to request

the First President to surrender the seals and to bestow them on Séguier. But the mischief was done, and it was obvious that the alliance which had constituted such a formidable menace to the royal authority had become one in name only. An event which now occurred dissolved it altogether, and changed the relations between the party of the princes and the Frondeurs into active hostility.

We have spoken of the great importance attached by the Princess Palatine to the marriage projected between the Prince de Conti and Mlle. de Chevreuse, which was to unite the House of Condé with those of Rohan, Luynes, and Lorraine, and, in conjunction with the future union of the Duc d'Enghien to a daughter of *Monsieur*, form the basis of a league of the great families, which should exercise a controlling influence over the Government. We have also seen that this project had been agreed to by Madame de Longueville, to whom it had been submitted at Stenai, and that, writing to the Palatine, on November 29, 1650, she had declared, in referring to it: "It is therefore to this that we must adhere." Moreover, Condé, as the head of his House, approved or seemed to approve of the match, and Madame de Chevreuse had adroitly succeeded in binding him by a fresh promise. When *Monsieur le Prince* paid her a formal visit after his return from Havre, she declared that she was unwilling to profit by a treaty signed in his absence and when he was not free, and offered to relieve the family of their engagement; but Condé,

far from taking advantage of this apparently magnanimous offer, confirmed the treaty by fresh promises.¹ Finally, the young Prince de Conti, who was either ignorant of, or inclined to treat as idle and malicious gossip, the very unpleasant rumours which were in circulation concerning the relations between the coadjutor and his bride-elect, had not paid many visits to the Hôtel de Chevreuse before the charms of the fair Charlotte had completely subjugated him. He testified for her the most intense admiration ; he paid her a thousand attentions, which he was careful to conceal from his friends, and particularly from Madame de Longueville, who claimed his undivided homage ; and, in short, showed himself not only willing but positively impatient for the marriage.

On his side, Mazarin was fully alive to the danger to the royal authority and his own prospects of a return to power which would result from such a marriage ; while, on the other hand, he foresaw that if the Condés could, by any possibility, be induced to break their engagement, the resentment of Madame de Chevreuse and her friends would be such that an immediate rupture of the coalition must surely

¹ According to Retz, Madame de Chevreuse sent him to the Hôtel de Condé, to offer to surrender to the prince the treaty providing for his brother's marriage to her daughter. "I discharged my embassy to *Monsieur le Prince*," he writes. "I placed in his hands my pretensions to a cardinal's hat [presumably the treaty in which the Condés engaged to support the coadjutor's claim to this dignity]. I handed to him the treaty providing for the marriage of Mlle. de Chevreuse. He stormed at me, he swore, he demanded for what I took him. I left persuaded, and I am still of the same opinion, that he had every intention of executing it."

follow ; and we accordingly find him writing to his confidants, impressing upon them the vital importance of opposing this union by every means in their power. "They [Madame de Chevreuse and Retz] know very well," he writes to Lionne, "that *Monsieur le Prince* does not consent to this marriage except by constraint. Perhaps, if *Monsieur le Prince's* eyes were opened, through the agency of some person who was in his interests, and in whom he reposed confidence, such as Madame de Bouillon or the Maréchal de Gramont, that might have a good effect." And again (March 21): "I cannot understand how Madame de Longueville and La Rochefoucauld, who entirely control the mind of the Prince de Conti, could ever be capable of consenting to it, since they cannot doubt that, the marriage once consummated, it will be Madame de Chevreuse and the coadjutor who will dominate the said prince, and not they. And, since it is a matter of sufficiently common knowledge in Paris, it is impossible that the persons whose interest it is to disgust the Prince de Conti with this marriage should not be aware that the coadjutor sees Mlle. de Chevreuse almost every evening in private, and that he is on more intimate terms with her than a person who proposes to marry her ought to desire."

Notwithstanding the efforts of the Court, the marriage so much dreaded by Mazarin, and so much desired by Madame de Chevreuse and Retz, seemed on the point of being consummated. Towards the

end of March, Madame de Chevreuse began to make preparations for the ceremony, and the Cardinal writes to Lionne that he hears that her hôtel is being superbly decorated in anticipation of the event, and that she has hung there "three tapestries belonging to him, to wit, the Scipio, the Paris, and one of green relieved with gold, which formed part of those which had been pledged to Hervart."¹ However, after the ministerial changes of April 3, which had so exasperated the Frondeurs, and convinced them that there was a secret understanding between Condé and the Court, Madame de Chevreuse, who was well aware how greatly Anne of Austria desired to prevent the marriage, became seriously alarmed.² She was somewhat reassured by the attitude of the Prince de Conti, who, on April 10, "desirous of giving proofs of his constancy, offered her to sign the marriage articles ;" and, on the 14th, Lionne wrote to Mazarin : "Madame de Chevreuse declares that she does not altogether despair of the marriage ; she places some hope in the love of the Prince de Conti."

However, the very next day, the proposed marriage was abruptly broken off. "The marriage of the Prince de Conti is abandoned," writes one of Mazarin's correspondents to the Cardinal, under date April 17 ;

¹ The Strasburg banker. (See p. 335 *supra*.)

² In the first conference which had taken place between Condé and the two Ministers, Servien and Lionne, the latter had intimated to him that the Queen strongly disapproved of the projected marriage. "But the prince," says La Rochefoucauld, "gave them to understand that the engagement he had entered into with Madame de Chevreuse was too important to seek expedients to break it."



From a contemporary print.

CHARLOTTE MARIE DE LORRAINE, MLE. DE CHEVREUSE.

“the Queen having informed *Monsieur le Prince* and the Prince de Conti, the day before yesterday, that the latter must entirely renounce this intention, and that this marriage was altogether impossible. The Président Viole, who had been the negotiator of this alliance, was the same day to see Madame de Chevreuse, on behalf of the two princes, to express to her the grief which they felt at the Queen’s repugnance to the execution of this project, and to assure her that they hoped in time to obtain her consent, which she at present refuses them. This has the less surprised the said lady and all her faction, inasmuch as appearances already pointed very strongly to a rupture, it being a fortnight since these princes had visited the Hôtel de Chevreuse.¹ Few persons complain of their conduct, every one being aware that the demand for this marriage was only a pretended reward for treasons. After this, it would appear that Monsieur le Cardinal’s tapestries will soon be taken down.”²

Retz gives the following account of the scene at the Hôtel de Chevreuse, when Viole came on his very delicate mission : “On the following morning,³ as I was in Madame de Chevreuse’s chamber, the Président Viole entered, very embarrassed, as it seemed

¹ Lionne, in a letter to Mazarin, speaks of a visit paid by Conti to the Hôtel de Chevreuse on April 11, on which occasion, however, Mlle. de Chevreuse was not at home.

² *Affaires étrangères, France*, published by Chéruef.

³ Retz places this episode on April 4, the day after the meeting at the Luxembourg, and he has been followed by several historians. The letters which we have already cited, and others, prove, however, that the rupture of the marriage occurred on April 15.

to us. He discharged the embassy with which he was charged like a man who is ashamed. He swallowed one half of what he had to say, and we understood, from the other half, that he came to announce the rupture of the marriage. Madame de Chevreuse responded courteously. Mlle. de Chevreuse, who was dressing near the fire, began to laugh."

It is a problem very difficult to solve with certainty what were the reasons which induced Condé to break thus abruptly an engagement to the fulfilment of which his family had twice committed itself; first, by the treaty signed on January 30, 1650, and, afterwards, by the prince's own assurances to Madame de Chevreuse on his return from Havre; since it is obvious that the opposition of the Queen would have had very little weight with *Monsieur le Prince*, if he had really desired the marriage to take place. Two of Condé's biographers, Earl Stanhope and the Duc d'Aumale, seem inclined to attribute his action to the not unnatural repugnance of a proud and haughty nature to allow his brother to wed with a lady whose moral reputation was so very dubious; and it is certain that this was the reason he gave the young Prince de Conti, and which induced the latter to renounce a union for which he was so sincerely anxious.¹ But, if such were the case, why did Condé wait until almost

¹ "Without revealing his intention to any one, he [*Monsieur le Prince*] went to the Prince de Conti. He began the conversation by rallying him on the greatness of his love, and concluded it by telling him of the relations of Mlle. de Chevreuse with the coadjutor, Noirmoutier, and Caumartin, and all which he believed most calculated

the eleventh hour before perceiving the indignity of the alliance? He must have been long aware of the character of Mlle. de Chevreuse, for, as we have seen, by the letters of Madame de Longueville to the Princess Palatine, and of Mazarin to Lionne, her relations with Retz were common talk in Court circles. And, even supposing that he had until that moment been in ignorance, was the frailty of a woman in an age notorious for its profligacy a sufficient cause for inflicting so gross an affront upon three of the first families in France—the Lorraines, the Rohans, and the Luynes—and of levelling at a single blow the edifice which had been built up with such infinite pains?

No; the true reason of Condé's conduct seems to have been a very different one. Impatient of all control, and possessed of an exaggerated idea of his own influence, Condé, as we have said, had grown weary of his alliance with Orléans and the Frondeurs, and had, though without formally breaking with them, entered into an understanding with the Court. He believed that he might secure greater advantages for himself by a reconciliation with the Government than he could hope to obtain with the assistance of the Frondeurs; for, though much might be extorted from

to disgust a lover or a husband. He did not experience much difficulty in succeeding in his design; for, whether it was that the Prince de Conti believed that he spoke the truth, or that he did not wish to show that he doubted him, he thanked him for an advice so salutary, and resolved not to wed Mlle. de Chevreuse. He even complained of Madame de Longueville and the Duc de La Rochefoucauld for not having warned him sooner of what people were saying."—La Rochefoucauld, *Mémoires*.

the Regent by so formidable a coalition, there were many mouths to be fed, and the appetites of some of his allies for places and pensions were insatiable. At the same time, he was somewhat doubtful whether the Frondeurs would not be sufficiently audacious, even without the assistance of himself and his friends, to coerce the Government; and he therefore waited to see what action they would take on the occasion of the dismissal of Châteauneuf before breaking off his brother's engagement, and definitely separating from them. "*Monsieur le Prince*," says La Rochefoucauld, who must certainly have known the truth, "having as yet neither concluded nor broken his treaty with the Queen, and having been informed that the Keeper of the Seals, Châteauneuf, was to be dismissed, wished to wait for that event, in order to allow the marriage to take place, if the Cardinal Mazarin were ruined by M. de Châteauneuf, or to break it off and thereby pay his court to the Queen, if M. de Châteauneuf were driven away by the Cardinal." When Condé found that, without his co-operation, Orléans and the Frondeurs dared not take any steps to compel the Regent to reinstate the disgraced Minister, he concluded that he would be perfectly safe in continuing his negotiations with the Court, and accordingly terminated both his brother's engagement and the alliance.

But what was Madame de Longueville's share in this rupture, which was as impolitic as it was discreditable, and which may be regarded as the first link in that chain of unfortunate events which ended

by drawing Condé into civil war? A very important one, if we are to believe the memoirs and correspondence of her contemporaries. Madame de Motteville states positively that Madame de Longueville, from the hour she returned from Stenai, counselled Condé to break with the Chevreuses, and that La Rochefoucauld fortified her in this design; and the motives she attributes to her are as follows:

“ Madame de Longueville did not think it advisable to admit into her family a person who, in virtue of her position as the wife of her brother, would have taken precedence of her on all occasions, and who, being younger and as beautiful as herself, would have been able to have effaced her, or, at any rate, to share with her the pleasure of pleasing and of being praised. She was equally unwilling that she should deprive her of the influence which she desired to exercise over the mind of the Prince de Conti, by means of which she had up to that time rendered herself important to her family.”¹

Madame de Motteville's assertion is confirmed by the Duchesse de Nemours (Mlle. de Longueville), although her well-known antipathy to her step-mother perhaps somewhat discounts the value of her testimony; while La Rochefoucauld admits that “the Frondeurs suspected Madame de Longueville and the Duc de La Rochefoucauld of an intention to break it [the marriage], for fear lest the Prince de Conti should go from their hands into those of Madame de Chevreuse and the

¹ *Mémoires.*

coadjutor.”¹ Always very careful to avoid committing himself when his conduct does not happen to redound to his credit, La Rochefoucauld does not tell us whether these suspicions were well or ill founded ; but, instead, goes on to accuse Condé of having “augmented the suspicions of the Frondeurs against his sister and La Rochefoucauld, being convinced that, so long as they were under this impression, they would never discover the true cause of the postponement of the marriage.”²

Finally, Lionne, writing to Mazarin, under date April 12, assures the Cardinal that “Madame de Longueville creates the greatest obstacles to it [the marriage] in the mind of the Prince de Conti, which she governs.”³

The rôle which the above testimony goes to prove was played by Madame de Longueville in the rupture certainly reflects very little credit upon her. Nor is it easy to reconcile with her letter to the Princess Palatine, in which she so strongly emphasises the importance of the marriage. But much had happened since then. In the first place, the immediate objects of the marriage treaty—the exile of Mazarin and the liberation of the princes—had been achieved. In the second, Madame de Longueville had had time to reflect upon the effect of this marriage upon her own position ; and, for the reasons given by her contemporaries, the project had become extremely dis-

¹ Cf. Mazarin's letter of March 21 to Lionne, p. 505 *supra*.

² La Rochefoucauld, *Mémoires*, Victor Cousin, *Madame de Longueville pendant la Fronde*.

³ Published by Chéruef.

tasteful to her. Possibly, also, personal differences may have arisen between her and Mlle. de Chevreuse, concerning which we are left in ignorance ; ill feeling between rival beauties, particularly when the reputation of neither is above reproach, is speedily kindled.

It is easy to conceive the resentment of Madame de Chevreuse, when she recognised that she had been duped : that she, who might have been basking in the sun of Court favour, had turned her back upon Mazarin and the Queen, and exercised all her skill and ingenuity to drive the Cardinal into exile and rescue Condé from prison, in order to receive so gross an affront ! But she was not the woman to waste time in useless regrets. The Condés were victorious for the moment ; but they were the veriest tyros in political intrigue compared with herself, and she was resolved that their hour of triumph should be a very brief one. In less than a week after the events we have just related, Mazarin was smiling complacently over the contents of a letter, a copy of one which had been written by Madame de Chevreuse to her confidant, the Marquis de Noirmoutier, now Governor of Charleville, and which had just been brought to Brühl by an agent of the marquis ; and this is what he read :

MADAME DE CHEVREUSE TO THE MARQUIS DE
NOIRMOUTIER.

“PARIS, *April* 20.

“It would occupy too long to set down here the rupture of my daughter’s marriage in all its particulars.

You will learn them from another source. This is merely to tell you that, being now free, I beg you to acquaint Monsieur le Cardinal with all speed, that in the present state of affairs at Court, there is an opportunity of serving him by means which are evident, provided that he bids the Queen place confidence in me, and that he keeps the secret to himself. Monsieur le Cardinal can rest assured of being well served in the present conjuncture. You must press him to write without delay to the Queen and give you a speedy answer, after which he will be fully informed of everything.”¹

Mazarin, who had speedily recovered that calmness of judgment of which the pride of victory and the intoxication of power had for a moment deprived him, had long since recognised the fatal mistake he had committed in giving himself two enemies at once, and all his efforts, as we have shown, had been directed towards dividing the forces arrayed against him. In this he had now succeeded, but he was well aware that the only sure means of preventing their reunion and securing his own return was to enter into alliance with one of them. At first, he had inclined towards the party of the princes, believing, in common with his confidants in the Ministry, that Condé alone possessed the courage and authority necessary to overcome all opposition to his recall. But, though the prince had shown himself very disposed to accept the overtures of the Court, it was

¹ Published by Chéruel

becoming apparent that his ambition was such that nothing but the practical dismembership of the State in his favour would ever induce him to lend himself to Mazarin's return ; and, though he sighed for the great position he had lost, the Cardinal hesitated to receive it back on such terms.

Under the circumstances, Mazarin decided to forget his grievances against Madame de Chevreuse and to accept her proposals. But he was too shrewd not to take every precaution when dealing with a party whose perfidy he had experienced on more than one occasion ; and the counsel which he now gave Anne of Austria was to negotiate with both parties, to hold each in check by means of the other, and, above all things, to do everything possible to prevent their reunion.

The Queen followed his advice with her customary docility ; before the end of April, the rupture between the Frondeurs and the party of the princes was complete, and the former allies had become irreconcilable enemies.

CHAPTER XIX

Policy of Condé and Madame de Longueville—Exorbitant pretensions of *Monsieur le Prince*—Mazarin determined to oppose them—He is convinced that Condé is treating with Spain—The Cardinal counsels Anne of Austria to seek to detach from the prince the friends wounded by his imperious temper and ingratitude—Discontent of Turenne and his brother the Duc de Bouillon, of Mathieu Molé, and of the Duc de Longueville—Strained relations between Madame de Longueville and her husband—Aversion of Mlle. de Longueville for her step-mother—Madame de Longueville refuses to accompany her husband to Normandy—The Princess Palatine passes over to the Court—Her conduct considered—The Queen negotiates with Retz and Madame de Chevreuse—Project of rearresting or assassinating Condé—Alarm of *Monsieur le Prince*—His flight to Saint-Maur.

“THE greatest error in times of revolution,” observes Victor Cousin, “is that of believing that one is able to dispense with the support of one of the contending parties. At the end of a revolution, one can attempt to dominate them; in the crisis, one must choose. Mazarin fell because he essayed to dominate at the same time the Fronde and Condé; Condé was ruined in imagining that he could dominate the Fronde and the Court.”¹

In breaking up so abruptly the formidable combination which had rendered him such important services, it was obviously to Condé's interests to enter with

¹ *Madame de Longueville pendant la Fronde.*

as little delay as possible into close relations with the Court ; but this he hesitated to do, with the result that he presently found himself between two parties, both equally embittered against him. His policy and that of Madame de Longueville—for in 1651, as in 1649, the princess seems to have been the confidante and counsellor of all her brother's actions—so far as they can be said to have had a policy, was to form a middle party, which should hold the balance between the Court and the Fronde and dominate the situation. This was very much the same course which they had pursued after the Peace of Rueil, and which, though successful for a time, terminated so disastrously. But, misled by the overtures which had been made to Condé, they imagined that the Queen would be willing to make almost any sacrifice to purchase *Monsieur le Prince's* consent to the return of her Minister ; while that, on the other hand, the antipathy of Anne of Austria and the Cardinal to Retz and his associates was such that there could be little danger of a new agreement between them.

The Court would certainly have been willing to go very far to win over Condé ; but the ambition of the prince went far beyond anything which could possibly be granted him, with due regard to the preservation of the royal authority. Not content with having obtained for himself the government of Guienne, an unruly province, which had testified the greatest devotion to his family during the late war, and which, moreover, was adjacent to Spain, he de-

manded that of Provence for Conti, which, of course, meant that he would rule it, also, under his brother's name, and so become the virtual sovereign of the South of France. He further demanded that La Rochefoucauld, who had recently become Governor of Poitou, in succession to his father, should receive the government of the important fortress of Blaye, on the Gironde, then held by the Duc de Saint-Simon, father of the author of the *Mémoires*, and an adherent of the Court ; that the Duc de Nemours should have that of Auvergne, and that the Regent should give her consent to the marriage of his mistress and ally, the Duchesse de Châtillon, with the Comte du Daugnon, Governor of Aunis and Saintonge. Finally, he had resumed his former pretensions to the Admiralty, and desired to take away this important office from the Duc de Vendôme.¹ On these conditions, he intimated to the Court that he would be prepared to consent to Mazarin's return.

Let us consider for a moment what would have been Condé's position had his demands been acceded to. He would have ruled, either himself, or, through his relatives and adherents, Poitou, Saintonge, Aunis, Guienne, Berry, Auvergne, and Provence,² that is to say, the whole of the Western seaboard of France from

¹ Vendôme had received the Admiralty after the arrest of the princes, in virtue of the compact between the Court and the Fronde.

² We have not included Normandy, governed by the Duc de Longueville, since Normandy had remained loyal during the late war, in spite of the efforts of Madame de Longueville ; and all its important fortresses were now in hands friendly to the Government.

the mouth of the Loire to the mouth of the Gironde ; two important central provinces, one of great strategic value, owing to its mountainous character, and a South-Eastern province within easy reach of the Spanish dominions in Italy, would have been, to all intents and purposes, in the hands of a single subject of the Crown. We may add that Condé, when surrendering Burgundy in exchange for Guienne, had retained possession of the fortress of Bellegarde, the command of which he had given to Boutteville ; that he proposed that his brother should retain several fortresses in Champagne ; that the governors of Anjou, Angoumois, the Limousin, and Béarn were all personal friends of the prince, and that the Comte de Marsin, who commanded in Catalonia, was one of his most devoted adherents.

It was obvious that such monstrous pretensions could not be for one instant entertained. Once in possession of these great governments, Condé could ally himself with the King of Spain, and bid defiance to his own sovereign. France, whose only vulnerable spot, as regards Spain, was at present her North-Eastern frontier, would then be liable to invasion at at least three other points : through Provence ; by way of the seaports of Aunis and Saintonge ; and by way of Bordeaux and Guienne ; in which latter eventuality, a Spanish army, with Auvergne friendly, might penetrate into the very heart of the kingdom before an attempt could be made to bar its progress.

Mazarin was well aware that, by opposing Condé's

demands, he was postponing, possibly to a very distant date, his return to France, the object of his most ardent desires. Nevertheless, this "evil Minister," whose restoration to office, according to Earl Stanhope, it was the duty of all good Frenchmen to oppose,¹ did not hesitate to sacrifice his own interests to those of his adopted country. "The greatest happiness that the Cardinal can have," he wrote to the Queen, "is that his return has not been stipulated in an accommodation whereby *Monsieur le Prince* will be accorded establishments beyond the bounds of imagination . . . for the Cardinal, loving as he does the service of the King, would have been in despair at seeing himself re-established in office by a means so prejudicial to the State."²

The Cardinal was convinced—and the sequel proves how accurately he had gauged the situation—that the true explanation of Condé's pretensions was that there was an understanding between the prince and Spain. Condé had recently sent to Brussels La Rochefoucauld's brother-in-law, the Marquis de Sillery,³ ostensibly to arrange for the evacuation of Stenai, which the troops of the Archduke had occupied after the departure of Madame de Longueville; and the Cardinal declares to Lionne his belief that this mission cloaked a much

¹ "Life of Louis, Prince of Condé, surnamed the Great."

² Letter of May 12, published by Ravenel, *Lettres de Mazarin*. In his cypher letters to Anne of Austria, the Cardinal always speaks of himself in the third person.

³ Louis Roger Brulart, 1619-1691. He had taken a prominent part in the defence of Bordeaux against the Royal troops in the autumn of the previous year.

deeper design. "I believe," he writes, "that, if we could question the Marquis de Sillery, he could certainly tell us something which would enable us to see that an understanding exists between *Monsieur le Prince* and the Spaniards. For it is certain that Fuensaldana has remained very satisfied with him, and that his demand for the exchange of governments was known at Brussels, when it was quite a secret in France." And, in a subsequent letter, he adds : "What confirms me in the suspicion that *Monsieur le Prince* has an understanding with the Spaniards, is that the latter, notwithstanding that their affairs are in a very bad state, with very few resources for continuing the war, and on the eve of beholding new revolts break out every day in their dominions, behave with unexampled insolence in the negotiations for peace, and make proposals with an impertinence which they would have been ashamed to display towards the weakest prince in Europe."

Concealed behind the Queen, Mazarin at first had devoted himself to fomenting and aggravating the quarrel between the prince and the Frondeurs, lavishing on Condé promises which drew him closer and closer to the Court, while exciting the alarm and jealousy of his former allies. But, once having satisfied himself that the breach between the two factions had gone too far to admit of any reconciliation, and that, on the other hand, nothing short of the sacrifice of the royal authority could procure him the support of Condé, he changed his tactics and began insensibly to draw back. The promise made to the prince of the government of

Guienne was duly fulfilled, and, on May 20, that post was formally conferred upon him ; but it was represented that the Comte d'Alais, who had recently, through his father's death, become Duc d'Angoulême, could not at present see his way to exchange Provence for Champagne, and that it would be impossible to deprive the Duc de Saint-Simon of Blaye, to bestow it on La Rochefoucauld, until some equally important post could be found for the nobleman whom it was proposed to dispossess. In fact, Condé found all kinds of unexpected obstacles where he had previously met with nothing but the most positive assurances ; and, mortified and incensed, he resumed the imperious attitude and insolent tone which, two years before, had embroiled him with the Court.

At the same time that Mazarin instructed the Queen and her Ministers to offer a determined opposition to the pretensions of Condé, he counselled her to spare no effort to detach from the prince the relatives and personal friends who had hitherto followed his fortunes so faithfully. " While *Monsieur le Prince* is endeavouring to establish his power more and more," he writes, " it would be a very prudent move for the service of the King to detach from him, very quietly, the persons of the greatest influence and the highest rank who are most capable of injuring or of serving him, in which I think you will succeed, because, among the great qualities which *Monsieur le Prince* possesses, he has certainly not that of preserving his friends."

In this last sentence, Mazarin indicates one of the

most vulnerable points in his enemy's defences. Neither increasing years nor experience had had any effect in curbing Condé's imperious temper, nor that love of sarcasm which he exercised without distinction upon friend and foe alike.¹ In the Council, in his family, in the society of his intimate friends, he affected an intolerable haughtiness, which raised him up many enemies. The slightest opposition to his will was sufficient to throw him into the most ungovernable passions, in which he entirely forgot both what was due to his own dignity and to that of those with whom he happened to be. One day, at the Council, the Comptroller-General of Finance, the *Président de Maisons*, than whom few members of the *Parlement* had been more active on his behalf during his imprisonment, having ventured to question him upon the lavish expenditure in the King's Household, of which Condé was Superintendent, "*Monsieur le Prince*, transported by passion, indulged in every gesture which anger could suggest, and shook his fist a hundred times in the face of *M. le Président*."

Moreover, though Condé was exceedingly active in demanding important positions for his friends and allies, when he desired to further his own ambitious views, the feeling of obligation was entirely foreign to his nature. Thus, though he was unceasing in his importunities on behalf of La Rochefoucauld and Nemours, he entirely neglected the interests of Turenne and his brother, the Duc de Bouillon, who had at least equal claims upon

¹ For an example of Condé's sarcasms at the expense of his friends, see p. 115 *supra*.

his gratitude. These nobles had confidently anticipated that, when Condé was restored to liberty and power, he would induce the Government to restore to them their principality of Sedan ; but, to their intense mortification, the prince, wholly occupied with his own projects, made no attempt in this direction. The two brothers were, in consequence, “not too well satisfied with *Monsieur le Prince*,” and had begun to consider very seriously whether their interests would not better be served by a *rapprochement* with the Court. Mazarin, who fully understood the importance of securing their support, determined to spare no effort to this end ; and the negotiations which were opened with them, at his suggestion, were, as we shall presently see, crowned with complete success.

A person of a very different character to the La Tours was also lost to Condé for similar reasons ; this was the First President, Mathieu Molé. This estimable magistrate, always a firm friend of the House of Condé, had great claims upon the prince’s gratitude ; nevertheless, Condé had permitted him to be sacrificed to the resentment of Orléans, in the previous April, and to be deprived of the Seals, three days after they had been placed in his hands. This act of desertion was never forgiven by Molé, and henceforth the great influence he possessed with his colleagues was employed on behalf of the royal authority and against the prince.

Finally, several reasons combined to bring about an important defection in Condé’s own family. The Duc

de Longueville had followed his wife willingly enough into the Parliaméntary Fronde, where he had been one of the "generals" of Paris, and had raised Normandy against Mazarin. But a year of imprisonment had had a very sobering effect upon the duke; and, having regained his liberty and recovered his government of Normandy and his estates, he felt very far from disposed to allow himself to be drawn into fresh enterprises, to satisfy the ambition of a brother-in-law whose imperious manners he had always supported with impatience.

He was the more disinclined to compromise himself anew, inasmuch as his relations with his wife were now decidedly strained. Madame de Longueville had never professed much affection for a husband nearly double her age, and "who possessed nothing that responded to the ideal which this illustrious pupil of the Hôtel de Rambouillet had formed;" but, so long as he did not attempt to exercise his marital authority, she tolerated him, and their relations would appear to have been amicable enough. Since his release from Havre, however, the once complacent duke has become decidedly restive. Of easy morals himself, he had ignored his wife's relations with La Rochefoucauld, so long as they had been carried on with a due regard to the conventions. But, when the *liaison* had become so open that it was the common talk of Court and town; when he found that the legitimacy of his younger son was being freely called in question, he came to the conclusion that it was time to interfere. Moreover, he disapproved of feminine

politicians, whose greatest delight seemed to be to set the Court by the ears, and send elderly noblemen with a weakness for creature comforts to spend long months in damp and gloomy fortresses ; and he regarded himself—and with some reason—as the victim of Madame la Duchesse's craving for notoriety. Altogether, M. de Longueville felt that he had grave reasons for dissatisfaction with his wife ; and the enemies of *Monsieur le Prince*, with Retz at their head, did not fail to stimulate his ill-humour ; while his daughter, Marie d'Orléans, the future Duchesse de Nemours, ably seconded their efforts.

Mlle. de Longueville, a practical and rather commonplace young woman, the exact antithesis of her step-mother, had scant sympathy with the latter's ambitious projects, and had, from the first, regarded her with a dislike which had gradually ripened into positive aversion. Probably, there were faults on both sides, since even Victor Cousin is fain to admit that the elder princess "had little affection for her step-daughter, and perhaps did not consider her sufficiently." Any way, the latter employed all her influence over her father, who was greatly attached to her, to increase his irritation against his wife.

The result was that Longueville proceeded to address some very forcible remonstrances to his consort in regard to her conduct, both public and private, which were, as we may suppose, very badly received, and ended by requesting her to accompany him to Normandy, where she might more profitably employ her energies



From an engraving by Nanteuil after the painting by Beaubrun.

MARIE D'ORLÉANS, MLE. DE LONGUEVILLE (AFTERWARDS
 DUCHESSE DE NEMOURS).

in superintending the education of her children, than in stirring up political dissension and affording material for scandalous gossip in Paris. The lady, who infinitely preferred a life of intrigue and adventure by the side of her beloved La Rochefoucauld, to the *ennui* of a sojourn in the provinces, angrily declined ; and though Condé, during a visit which the ill-assorted couple paid to Chantilly, endeavoured to bring about a reconciliation, he failed, and the duke, accompanied by his daughter, departed, in high dudgeon, for Normandy, leaving his wife in Paris.

Mazarin, duly informed of the situation of affairs, hastened to turn it to account. "The Queen," he writes to Lionne, "must endeavour to take advantage of the dissatisfaction which M. de Longueville is said to feel in regard to *Monsieur le Prince* to attach him to herself. I believe that she will find him favourably disposed ; and Priolo¹ might render useful service in this respect. Her Majesty, having secured M. de Longueville, would remain, in case of need, if any disorder arose, in complete security in Normandy ; and the Parlement of Rouen would assuredly conform in all matters, and everywhere, to her orders.²

In the complicated intrigues which were now in progress, the Queen and Mazarin found a valuable ally in the Princess Palatine. The part played by this princess in the rupture of the alliance which she

¹ Priolo, the author of *De Rebus Gallicis*, was Longueville's secretary, but had been, for some time past, a secret agent of the Cardinal.

² Letter of June 6, 1651, published by Chéruel.

had been so largely instrumental in concluding is a matter of dispute. Both Victor Cousin and the Duc d'Aumale represent her as deeply wounded by the refusal of the Condé family to carry out the engagement which she had entered into in their name. But Chéruef is of opinion that, so far from resenting this breach of faith, she had actually counselled it; and it is, at any rate, certain that she had been the intermediary through whom the first negotiations between Condé and the Court were carried on.

Even if the latter assumption is correct, as it would appear to be, there is really nothing to occasion surprise. Self-interest alone governed the politics of the Fronde; honour and good faith were of very little account, and the most solemn engagements were broken without compunction, the moment either party believed it was to its advantage to do so. The Palatine had undoubtedly been sincerely desirous to secure the permanence of the alliance between the two Frondes, so long as she believed that such a coalition could obtain for her greater advantages than she would be able to secure by any other means. But, once convinced that the Court was prepared to bid high for her support, it is unlikely that she would have hesitated to immolate her own political offspring on the altar of expediency.

And the price offered by the Court was a high one, though not quite so exalted as the princess desired to place on her services: a pension of 20,000 livres and the post of Superintendent of the Household of

the future queen of Louis XIV. for herself, and that of Comptroller-Général of Finance and a dukedom for the Marquis de la Vieuville,¹ the father of her lover, the Chevalier de la Vieuville, the Orondate of her letters to Madame de Longueville.

On these terms, the Palatine passed over to the Court and engaged to do everything in her power to secure the Cardinal's return. But she did not, as the Duc d'Aumale seems to suppose, become forthwith the enemy of Condé. On the contrary, as Mazarin's letters prove, she desired to bring about that reconciliation between the prince and the Cardinal which she had endeavoured to effect in the previous January, but without success. It was only in the event of the failure of these negotiations, through Condé insisting on concessions which it was impossible for the Court to grant, that it was her intention to resort to other means of serving her paymaster; for which purpose, she had maintained her good relations with the Old Fronde, and doubtless affected to be greatly distressed by the rupture of the Conti-Chevreuse marriage project. "I doubt not," writes Mazarin to Lionne, "that the Princess Palatine maintains some relations with the Frondeurs, since Bartet has also told me of it, and has protested that she is so resolved to serve the Queen, particularly in what regards me, that, if by chance she found it impossible to do it by means

¹ The Marquis de la Vieuville had been appointed to the same office in 1623; but had been removed from it by Richelieu, on a charge of corruption, which would appear to have been but too well founded,

of *Monsieur le Prince* (which she does not believe), she will try every other way, having no doubt that she will succeed therein. And, as for myself, being altogether persuaded that she is acting sincerely ; that she desires to attach herself to the Queen without any reservation ; that she earnestly desires to oblige me and to serve her Majesty in my person, and that we may rest assured of her fidelity, I am of opinion that it is a very great advantage for her to maintain relations with the Frondeurs, in order that, whether *Monsieur le Prince* assists or opposes my return, she may be still in a position to render me useful service.”¹

In the meanwhile, in conformity with the Cardinal's instructions, Anne of Austria had had several conferences with Madame de Chevreuse and Retz. The Queen had no small difficulty in overcoming her repugnance to receive and make use of the latter, whom she detested almost as much as she detested Condé ; but Mazarin represented to her the necessity of flattering his ambition and vanity ; and the perfect understanding which existed between them enabled them to compose and act together a little comedy, which, for the moment, seems to have completely deceived the coadjutor. One evening, the Queen showed the prelate a letter which she had received from Mazarin, and which concluded thus : “ You are aware, Madame, that the greatest enemy I have in the world is the coadjutor. Avail yourself of his services, Madame, rather than negotiate with *Monsieur le*

¹ Letter of May 29, 1651.

Prince on the terms which he demands. Make him cardinal, give him my post, place him in my apartment; he will perhaps belong to *Monsieur*, rather than to your Majesty, but *Monsieur* does not desire the ruin of the State; his intentions at bottom are not bad. Finally, gives him everything, Madame, rather than accord *Monsieur le Prince's* demands."

Retz declared that he "never in his life had seen so fine a letter," and he gives himself out as the most moderate of men for not having taken Mazarin at his word and demanded the post of Prime Minister, instead of being content with a cardinal's hat. As for the latter appointment, which had already been the cause of so many heart-burnings, Anne declared that she had always been willing to recognise the coadjutor's claims, and that the real obstacle to their being satisfied had been Châteauneuf, who desired the hat for himself. Now, however, she said, she was resolved that it should be his, after which she inquired what the future cardinal was prepared to do for her. "Madame," replied the gratified Retz; "within eight days I will compel *Monsieur le Prince* to leave Paris."¹

Forthwith, the coadjutor and Madame de Chevreuse proceeded to raise the whole Fronde against Condé; and the prince found himself assailed, by the pamphleteers in Retz's pay, with almost as much virulence as had been directed against Mazarin. Condé, however, had fully expected to be subjected to such attacks, and, being as yet unaware of

¹ Retz, *Mémoires*.

the negotiations which were in progress between the Court and the Frondeurs, he treated them with contempt, and abated not one jot of his pretensions.

The new allies now deliberated upon the possibility of having Condé again arrested, but they were unable to agree upon the manner in which this should be carried out. As the prince had ceased to visit the Palais-Royal, no opportunity would be afforded the Court of repeating the *coup d'État* of the previous year; and Retz therefore advised that the arrest should be effected at the Luxembourg, on the next occasion on which Condé came to visit Orléans. The timid Gaston, however, was terrified at the idea that his palace might become the theatre of a sanguinary conflict; while, on his side, Mazarin was far from desiring that Condé should fall entirely into the hands of the Frondeurs.

This plan rejected, the coadjutor, if we are to believe Madame de Motteville, proposed to the Queen that Condé should be assassinated; but Anne was so shocked at the suggestion, that she ordered the conferences which she had charged Lionne to hold with Retz, at the house of the Comte de Montrésor, to be abandoned. On the other hand, Retz assures us most emphatically that this sinister proposition was made to the Queen by the Maréchal d'Hocquincourt; that her Majesty approved of it; and that it is to himself and to Madame de Chevreuse that the credit of its rejection belongs. "I know not," he writes, "if what Hocquincourt told me of the offer which

he had made the Queen to kill *Monsieur le Prince*, by attacking him in the street, had not made her believe that this means was still more decisive" (*i.e.* than the plan of arresting Condé). . . . "She commanded me to confer with Hocquincourt. 'He will tell you,' said she, 'that there are surer means than that which you propose.' I saw Hocquincourt, on the morrow, at the Hôtel de Chevreuse, and he told me all the details of the offer which he had made the Queen. I was horrified at it, and I am obliged to say truthfully that Madame de Chevreuse was not less so than myself. What is astonishing, is that the Queen, who had sent me to him the evening before as though to a man who had made her a reasonable proposition, showed Madame de Chevreuse and myself that she approved strongly of our sentiments, which were assuredly very far removed from an act of this nature. She also denied absolutely that Hocquincourt had explained the matter to her as he had to us. That is the fact upon which you are able to base your conjectures."

That a proposal to assassinate Condé was made to the Queen is beyond question. On this point evidence abounds and leaves no possible doubt. By whom it was made is less certain. Montglat, then Master of the Wardrobe, and in a position to learn all the rumours of the Court, is in agreement with Retz in making Hocquincourt its author, associating with him the Comte d'Harcourt. But both he and La Rochefoucauld—who does not name any one—agree with

Madame de Motteville that the Queen rejected the suggestion with indignation. These testimonies, joined to the fact that both Anne of Austria and Mazarin were always strongly opposed to bloodshed, and that there is not one solitary instance during the Regency of a person being put to death for political offences, makes it clear that we must acquit the Queen and the Cardinal—since whoever accuses the first, accuses the second—of any homicidal intentions. Besides, what had Anne to gain by such a deed? Absolutely nothing. The assassination of Condé would have provoked the most widespread indignation; the Fronde, delivered from such an adversary, would have turned against her more powerful than ever, with all its forces reunited, and she would have been ruined. For the same reasons, as Victor Cousin points out, Retz and Madame de Chevreuse had every interest in the death of the prince. “They had only two enemies, Mazarin and Condé. Mazarin was in exile, crushed under the weight of a reprobation then universal and irresistible. There was then between them and power but a single obstacle, and this obstacle they were not disposed to respect, if they believed themselves able to overcome it.”¹ And what was the character of these two persons? Madame de Chevreuse, the accomplice of Chalais and of many others, who, in 1643, had, in conjunction with Madame de Montbazou, instigated Beaufort to assassinate Mazarin, and who was at this moment inflamed with resentment against Condé, owing

¹ Victor Cousin, *Madame de Longueville pendant la Fronde*.

to the gross affront he had put upon her ! And Retz, who confesses, in his *Mémoires*, to have been a party to one of the most sinister conspiracies against the life of Richelieu, and whom Madame de Chevreuse governed through her daughter ! When, too, we consider that Madame de Motteville, the author of the charge against Retz, is perhaps the most reliable of all contemporary chroniclers, invariably well-informed, honest, and temperate in her judgments, it is difficult to believe that she would have made so grave an accusation, unless she had been very sure indeed.

It would therefore appear most probable that two proposals were made to Anne of Austria : one, by Retz, of direct assassination, which the Queen indignantly rejected ; the other, by Hocquincourt, of the arrest of Condé, if necessary by force of arms, which she likewise rejected, fearing that such a design would be impracticable without bloodshed ; and that Hocquincourt's proposition was magnified by Retz, in order to divert suspicion from himself, and by Montglat, in all good faith, into a homicidal one.

However that may be, *Monsieur le Prince* received warning that his liberty, if not his life, was menaced, and the prospect filled him with alarm. He despised death, but his recent experiences had inspired him with an inconceivable dread of imprisonment, and he knew well that, if he again fell into the hands of his enemies, he would be treated much more harshly than in 1650, and would probably remain in captivity for years. Too proud to quit Paris he, nevertheless, took

every possible precaution against surprise ; he barricaded the windows of the Hôtel de Condé, placed sentries in the garden, and never went out, unless accompanied by a great number of guards and servants. It was obvious that the crisis could not be long delayed, and it was hastened by the following incident.

On the night of July 5-6, Condé had just retired to bed and was talking to one of his friends, Vineuil, when he received a mysterious note warning him that two companies of the Gardes Françaises were advancing in the direction of the Faubourg Saint-Germain. It was subsequently ascertained that the soldiers had been despatched for a wholly specific purpose, namely, to frustrate an expected attempt to smuggle a large quantity of wine into the city ; but Condé, convinced that the hour which he so much dreaded had arrived, and that they were coming to invest his hôtel, sprang out of bed, hastily dressed, and, mounting his horse, and accompanied by a few of his people, left the city by the Porte Saint-Michel and took the road to his château of Saint-Maur, situated some two leagues from Paris, at the South-Eastern extremity of the Bois de Vincennes.¹

Having reached the open country, he drew rein and remained for some time on the high-road, waiting for

¹ The Château of Saint-Maur, which had been begun by Cardinal du Bellay, Bishop of Paris, on the ruins of a very old abbey of the Benedictines, and completed by Catherine de' Medici, had been purchased by Charlotte de la Trémoille, Princesse de Condé, in 1598, and passed into the possession of her son Henri II., Prince de Condé, in 1612. It was destroyed during the Revolution.

news of his brother, to whom he had sent warning before leaving Paris. Suddenly he heard the hoof-beats of a numerous cavalcade approaching from the direction in which he intended to proceed, and, never doubting that it must be a squadron of cavalry sent to cut off his retreat, he turned his horse's head and galloped across the fields to Fleury, at the foot of the hill of Meudon. Here he learned that the sound which had occasioned his alarm proceeded from a band of peasants, who were driving their asses laden with poultry and vegetables to the Paris market ; and, having laughed heartily over his discomfiture by such foes, he resumed his journey to Saint-Maur, where he arrived about six o'clock on the morning of the 6th.

CHAPTER XX

Condé at Saint-Maur—His discourteous reception of the Maréchal de Gramont, whom the Queen sends to assure him that she has no designs against his person—He demands the dismissal of Le Tellier, Servien, and Lionne, as the condition of his return to Paris—Turenne, Bouillon, and the Princess Palatine counsel a reconciliation with the Court—Madame de Longueville, Nemours, and the Président Viole favour an open rupture—Treaty of Saint-Maur—Influence of Madame de Longueville upon her brother's conduct—Her motives for urging him to civil war—Uncertain attitude of La Rochefoucauld—The Queen decides to comply with *Monsieur le Prince's* demands for the dismissal of the three Ministers—The Princesse de Condé, her son, and Madame de Longueville retire to Berry—Return of Condé to Paris—His arrogant and hostile attitude towards the Court exasperates the King and Queen, and alienates public sympathy—Treaty concluded between the Court and the Frondeurs—Royal declaration against *Monsieur le Prince*—Tumultuous scenes at the Palais de Justice—Retz in danger of assassination—The Queen sends a declaration to the Parlement exonerating Condé from the charges against him—The prince declines to assist at the proclamation of Louis XIV.'s majority—Interview between him and the Duc de Longueville, at Trie—The King refuses Condé's request to postpone the nominations of Châteauneuf, Molé, and La Vieuville to posts in the Ministry—Irresolution of *Monsieur le Prince*—He decides to retire to Berry—He is followed by Fouquet-Croissy, with propositions from the Court—Conference with his partisans at Montrond, where Madame de Longueville triumphs over his last scruples—"The sword is drawn."

THE sensation in Paris may be imagined when the news spread that Condé, under the impression that he was about to be rearrested, had secretly quitted the city and retired to Saint-Maur. The prince him-

self did not allow the motive of his retreat to remain long in doubt, for, scarcely had he arrived, than he despatched messengers to the capital, to inform his relatives and friends of the step he had taken, and to summon them to join him. *Madame la Princesse*, Conti, Madame de Longueville, La Rochefoucauld, the Duc de Nemours, and the Président Viole immediately hastened to Saint-Maur, and were followed by "an infinite number of those uncertain persons who offer themselves at the beginning of parties, and betray or abandon them in accordance with their fears or their interests."¹ Among these, were the Duc de Bouillon and Turenne, who were still hesitating between the Court and Condé.

Later in the day, the Maréchal de Gramont arrived at Saint-Maur, on behalf of the Queen and Orléans, to assure the prince that his retreat had been due to an entire misapprehension, that there were no designs against his person, and that he might return to Paris and visit the Palais-Royal in perfect security. The marshal, however, had been despatched merely for effect, and, notwithstanding that he was a personal friend of Condé, he met with a very discourteous reception. The prince sent word that he was unable to listen to him except in public, and descended into the outer court of the château, where he obliged him to discharge his mission in the presence, not only of his friends, but "of all the lackeys and scullions of the house." He then informed him that he was unable

¹ La Rochefoucauld, *Mémoires*.

to place any confidence in the Queen, so long as she was surrounded by the creatures of Mazarin ; while, as for *Monsieur*, although he was very sensible of his assurances of friendship and protection, he “ besought him to make no promises which he would be unable to keep.”

On the following day, the matter was brought before the Parlement, whither the Prince de Conti came to explain to the assembly the causes of his brother's sudden retirement to Saint-Maur, which he attributed to the secret influence which Mazarin continued to exercise in the Council, through his agents, Le Tellier, Lionne, and Servien. Condé himself wrote a letter to the Parlement, declaring that he would not return to Paris until the three Ministers mentioned, who, he asserted, were merely valets of Mazarin, had been dismissed. Retz and Orléans, who, it had been decided, were not to undertake any public support of the Cardinal, lest such action should deprive them of their influence with the magistrates and the citizens, supported this demand. But, in the end, it was agreed that the dismissal of the Ministers should not be insisted upon, and that the Queen should be merely asked to confirm, in writing, the assurance she had given not to recall Mazarin, and to guarantee the safety of the Prince de Condé, who should be entreated to return to Paris.

Condé remained at Saint-Maur until July 23, very much perplexed as to what course to pursue. Madame de Longueville, Conti, Nemours, Bouillon, and Turenne

were with him ; and the Princess Palatine, who had not yet given up all hopes of effecting a reconciliation between *Monsieur le Prince* and Mazarin, joined them on more than one occasion. The Palatine, Bouillon, and Turenne united their efforts to draw the prince back from the precipice upon whose brink he already stood. They pointed out how infinitely to his advantage it would be to come to an understanding with the Court, and remain in peaceable possession of the great power which was already his, than to hazard all by embarking in a war which would be the ruin of France ; while the two brothers, who, in the last war—the one at Bordeaux, the other at Stenai—had learned the futility of counting upon the promises of Spain, warned him of the danger of basing his hopes of success upon assistance from that quarter.

Madame de Longueville, however, urged her brother to civil war, and Nemours and the Président Viole were also in favour of an open rupture with the Court. Condé's natural impetuosity of character and ambitious views inclined him to the same course, and, on June 22, he yielded to their persuasions, so far as to sign with them the following treaty :

“ We, the undersigned, declare that we persist in the will and intention we have of procuring the safety of the person of *Monsieur le Prince*, and of all those who will sign the present document, by every kind of means, even by arms, if need be, and to permit no occasion to pass of taking them up, until we shall have such certain assurances, with the avowal and consent of all,

that we may have no further suspicions that designs can be undertaken against our persons.

“We moreover promise to listen to no proposals, nor to enter into any negotiation, without the express consent of the undersigned.

“And, if it should happen that it becomes necessary to take up arms, they cannot be laid down, unless each of the undersigned be satisfied in his interests, which he will declare when they are taken up.”

The signatures appended to this treaty, the original of which is preserved at Chantilly, were those of Condé, Madame de Longueville, Conti, Nemours, Viole and La Rochefoucauld ; the body of the document being in the handwriting of the last named.

Although the treaty was in La Rochefoucauld's handwriting, its terms were, in all probability, dictated by Madame de Longueville, for all contemporary writers seem to be agreed that it was she who more than any one inspired Condé to the fatal resolution that he ended by taking. In the spring, when influenced more by personal than political considerations, she had counselled the rupture of the Chevreuse marriage, which had led to the perilous situation in which her brother now found himself, her thoughts had been very far from civil war, and it is certain that she had taken a very important, if unacknowledged, part in his negotiations with the Court. She was willing enough that her family should sell their support to the Regent and Mazarin, if the latter were prepared to pay the exorbitant price which they demanded for it,

and create "a kingdom of the South" for their benefit. But, when these ambitious schemes failed; when from negotiations with Condé, the Court passed to intrigues with the Frondeurs; when she saw her brother threatened in his liberty, if not in his life,—it was then that, filled with indignation and alarm, she reverted to her warlike ardour of 1649 and 1650. She appears to have been deluded by the expressions of sympathy which Condé received from the crowd of "uncertain persons" who flocked to Saint-Maur into the belief that the flower of the aristocracy would rally round his standard, forgetting that the King's majority was close at hand, and that, when that time arrived, the specious pretext that they were in arms, not against their sovereign, but against his evil advisers, would avail no longer. She believed that on the field of battle nothing could prevail against the victor of Rocroi and Lens, seconded as he would be by Turenne, for she could not conceive that a man who had shown such unflinching loyalty to her brother's interests, and such devotion to herself, during the imprisonment of the princes, would fail them in their hour of need; and, notwithstanding past experiences, she still placed reliance on the promises of the Spaniards, who always treated her with the utmost deference. For these reasons, she urged Condé to have done with useless negotiations, and to appeal to arms.

But there was another, and a purely personal, motive, which, if Madame de Longueville did not see fit to insist upon it in the conferences at Saint-Maur, had,

nevertheless, perhaps more influence than any in confirming her in her desire for war.

We have seen that the princess had refused to accompany her husband to Normandy, and that the latter had retired to his government, more displeased than ever with the conduct of his wife. Here he took up a neutral attitude, which compromised him neither with the Court nor with the party of the princes; but, if his political intentions were still uncertain, he soon decided upon the course to be pursued in his domestic difficulty, and sent his wife imperative orders to return to him, intimating that, if she continued contumacious, most unpleasant consequences might follow.

Now, in those days, such threats were not to be lightly disregarded, for if monsieur, as a general rule, held the reins so loosely that madame was scarcely conscious of being under any control, they could, when occasion arose, be drawn mercilessly tight. A jealous or tyrannical husband who stood well at Court could, on a very slight pretext, obtain a *lettre de cachet* empowering him to shut his wife up in a convent, or he might keep her a close prisoner in one of his own châteaux, carefully guarded by trusted servants. Thus, to cite only a few out of many instances, the beautiful Sidonie de Lenoncourt, Marquise de Courcelles, was shut up by her husband in the Couvent des Filles-de-Sainte-Marie, near the Bastille; Hortense Mancini, Duchesse de Mazarin, in the same institution; her sister Marianne, Duchesse de Bouillon, in

the Couvent de Montreuil, “to give her an opportunity for salutary reflections;” while, in 1671, the *Princesse de Condé* was imprisoned by *Monsieur le Prince* at Châteauroux, where she remained for the rest of her days.

Madame de Longueville was therefore greatly alarmed, for no prospect could well be more appalling to her than that of an indefinite sojourn amid the solitude and monotony of the provinces. “I do not love the chase, nor to walk through the woods, nor to play at games,” she once observed; “I do not love innocent pleasures.” The natural distaste which she felt for such an existence was increased by the knowledge that the duke was now greatly incensed against her and entirely under the influence of his daughter; and she felt convinced that, once in Normandy, she would never leave it again, and would spend the rest of her life between an elderly and irritable husband and a spiteful and jealous step-daughter, who would lose no opportunity of inflicting upon her every annoyance in her power. The picture of the dreary life which awaited her in Normandy had very much the same effect upon her as that of a new captivity upon the mind of Condé; to escape it, she felt that she would be prepared to endure everything, to dare everything. Yet there was but one way of escape—war—which would enable her to continue her life of intrigue and adventure, under the specious pretext that it was impossible to abandon her brother. Rather than suffer herself to be buried alive in a Norman

château, she felt that she would be justified in embroiling all France.

However, Condé was not yet ready for an armed struggle against the royal authority, and, on the advice of La Rochefoucauld, he continued to negotiate. La Rochefoucauld, though he had drawn up and signed the Treaty of Saint-Maur, and feigned, at times, to share the bellicose disposition of his mistress, inclined at heart towards a reconciliation with the Court. He had already lost far more by rebellion than he was ever likely to gain ; in the last war, his splendid château of Verteuil had been nearly razed to the ground and his estates ravaged by the royal troops, and it would require years of retrenchment to repair the losses that his misplaced ambition had brought upon him. He was tired of war, which had hitherto proved, so far as he was concerned, a most ruinous speculation, and, like a prudent gambler, he desired to cut his losses. Besides, he had personally little cause for complaint against the Court, for, although the Regent had professed herself unable to give him Blaye, which it is doubtful if he had ever very ardently coveted, she had willingly acceded to his request that his eldest son, the Prince de Marsillac, should have the reversion of his government of Poitou ; and it seemed not improbable that this was an earnest of future favours. Unhappily, La Rochefoucauld "possessed neither vigour nor constancy either in good or evil,"¹ and he continued to oscillate between a

¹ Victor Cousin, *Madame de Longueville pendant la Fronde*.

policy of defiance and a policy of reconciliation, spending, according to Retz, all his mornings creating imbroglios, and all his evenings labouring for reconciliations. This perpetual vacillation deprived his counsels of all real weight ; and there can be no question that the chief influence in the party of the princes was wielded, not by him, but by the woman who had formerly been his docile pupil.

In accordance with La Rochefoucauld's advice, Condé had several interviews with Gaston d'Orléans, at the house of a financier named Rambouillet, in the Rue de la Planchette, in which he insisted on the dismissal of the "valets of Mazàrin," declaring that, so long as they remained in office, he would not return to Paris. The Queen resisted for some days, but, finally, she decided to comply with the prince's demand, foreseeing that by so doing he would be placed wholly in the wrong, if he persisted in his hostile attitude. Accordingly, on July 19, Le Tellier, Servien, and Lionne were dismissed, and they retired to their country-houses, with the assurance that their disgrace was but a nominal one, and that they might expect a speedy recall.

The dismissal of the three Ministers deprived Condé of all pretext for remaining longer at Saint-Maur, and, on July 23, he returned to Paris ; but he brought with him neither his wife nor his son, whom he sent to his fortified château of Montrond, in his government of Berry. They were accompanied by Madame de Longueville, who had consented with great reluctance

to the negotiations counselled by La Rochefoucauld, and who, while awaiting their result, considered it advisable to place as great a distance as possible between herself and her wrathful lord. She took with her her eldest son ; but M. de Longueville demanded that the boy should be sent to him, and in language so threatening, that she dared not disobey. After a short stay at Montrond, she went into "retreat" with the Carmelites of Bourges, but unhappily her sojourn among the pious sisters did not, as we shall presently see, inspire her with any more pacific inclinations.

It might have been supposed that, since the Regent had yielded the point on which Condé had so strongly insisted, that prince would have returned to the capital in a more conciliatory mood, which would have rendered it possible for negotiations with the Court to be resumed with some hope of success. But, so far from this being the case, he affected, from the first, so arrogant and hostile a tone as to incense both the King and Queen, and alienate many who had hitherto regarded him with a certain degree of sympathy. For some time, he obstinately refused to pay the customary visit of respect to their Majesties, though he went in great state to visit Gaston d'Orléans and other prominent members of the Court, and passed before the Palais-Royal, accompanied by eight magnificent coaches, which he had caused to be built for his solemn entry into Bordeaux, and a great body of gorgeously attired officers and lackeys. Meeting

the young King one day, by accident, on the Cours-la-Reine, he saluted him, but without descending from his carriage to do so, as usage demanded, a breach of etiquette which so irritated Louis XIV., already beginning to be exceedingly tenacious of his dignity, that, according to the Venetian Ambassador, Morosini, he was heard to declare, that, if he had had his guards with him, he would have ordered them to arrest *Monsieur le Prince*.¹

Moreover, Condé's demands grew every day more intolerable. The dismissal of the Ministers had served only to increase his arrogance, and he now demanded that all persons suspected of being in communication with Mazarin should be similarly disgraced. After a stormy debate, the Parlement voted that the conduct of those believed to have been guilty of this heinous offence should be investigated; but, at the same time, it also passed a resolution that *Monsieur le Prince* should be entreated to visit the King and Queen, since, according to Molé, "all France, and, indeed, all Europe, was astonished at his refusal."

In order not to ignore openly this resolution, Condé, on August 3, proceeded with Orléans to the Palais-Royal, and was received by the King and Queen, though the interview was a very frigid one on both sides, and the conversation was confined to indifferent topics. However, the prince did not again appear at the palace, giving out that he was apprehensive that he might be arrested; and he and his partisans in

¹ Despatch of August 1, 1651.

the Parlement continued their attacks upon the friends of Mazarin. In consequence of their efforts, Anne of Austria was compelled to dismiss from Court the Marquis de Navailles and his wife, two of her most trusted confidants ; while the Duc de Mercœur, whose only crime was that he had had the temerity to carry out his engagement and marry the Cardinal's niece, Laure Mancini, was threatened with a prosecution.

This tyranny decided the Queen to transform without delay the understanding which she had had for some weeks past with the Frondeurs into a definite alliance ; and, towards the middle of August, while La Rochefoucauld was exhausting himself in futile efforts to bring about a settlement, articles of agreement between the two parties were drawn up and signed, with the object of overwhelming Condé. By these articles, it was provided that the Frondeurs, in order to maintain their popularity with the people, should continue to denounce Mazarin in the Parlement, until they judged that the time was ripe for declaring openly in his favour, although, in the meanwhile, they would work in secret to promote his recall ; Châteauneuf was to be again Prime Minister, though the Seals were to be given to Molé ; La Vieuville was to be Comptroller-General ; Retz to be nominated to the cardinalate, and to be made a Minister after the meeting of the States-General ; while Mazarin's eldest nephew, Paul Mancini, was to be provided with the duchy of Nevers or that of Rethelois, and then to marry Mlle. de Chevreuse. Madame de Chevreuse, Retz, and Châteauneuf agreed

to do all in their power to induce *Monsieur*, who was as usual in a pitiable state of uncertainty, to detach himself definitely from Condé.

It is not a little singular that, though all the parties to this treaty were acting in bad faith, nearly all its provisions were executed. Retz wished to secure his Cardinal's hat, without assisting in the re-establishment of Mazarin, whom, as a matter of fact, he was resolved to supplant. Châteauneuf was determined that, once Prime Minister, he would never yield his place to the Cardinal. Finally, Mazarin desired to secure Retz's help by the nomination to the cardinalate, and to prevent him actually receiving the promotion, and Châteauneuf's co-operation by the post of Prime Minister, without allowing him to retain it. However, circumstances were too strong for these ingenious schemers. Retz became a cardinal; Châteauneuf was, for a while, Prime Minister; and Mazarin eventually returned to power. The only article which was not fulfilled was the clause which provided for the marriage of Paul Mancini and Mlle. de Chevreuse; but that was not the fault of the signatories to the treaty, since, a few months later, Mlle. de Chevreuse was seized with a sudden and fatal illness, while the Cardinal's nephew died of the wounds he received in the combat of the Faubourg Saint-Antoine.

The Queen, being now assured of the co-operation of the Frondeurs, felt strong enough for an open struggle with Condé; and, having engaged Retz to maintain her cause in the Parlement, she, on August 17,

launched against the prince a declaration, in which she charged him with ingratitude, contempt for the royal authority, criminal alliances with the enemies of the realm, and a desire to subvert the State. Once more was the Palais de Justice—that supposed sanctuary of justice and the laws—converted into an armed camp; and the disgraceful scenes which had marked the trial of Retz, Beaufort, and Broussel, for their supposed conspiracy against the life of Condé, in December, 1649, were repeated on an exaggerated scale. *Monsieur le Prince* and the coadjutor came down to the Parlement, accompanied by bands of retainers and hired desperadoes, armed to the teeth, who posted themselves in the Salle des Pas Perdus, “separated only by the length of their swords.” The magistrates, in great trepidation—some of them, having received warning of what might be expected, had taken the precaution to conceal swords and daggers under their gowns—declared that they would refuse to deliberate while armed men occupied the palace. Condé thereupon announced his readiness to send his followers away, and Retz declared that he would do the same with his. The prince accordingly despatched La Rochefoucauld to communicate his orders to their partisans, while the coadjutor went in person to disband his own forces. At sight of the latter, however, and before he could utter a word, an indescribable tumult arose; hundreds of swords were brandished in the air, and it seemed as though in another moment the two parties would be engaged in a desperate struggle. Happily, the leaders

on both sides succeeded in restraining the ardour of their followers ; and Retz, fearing that his presence might excite a fresh outbreak, decided to return to the Grande Chambre. But, as he was attempting to enter, he found himself seized by La Rochefoucauld, who held him a close prisoner between the heavy folding-doors, while he cried to two of his followers to come and kill him. They hesitated ; but a third man came up, with a poniard in his hand, and would have stabbed the coadjutor, had not one of the latter's friends covered him with his cloak. "Finally," writes Retz, "M. de Champlâtreux,¹ seeing me in this extremity, pushed M. de La Rochefoucauld vigorously aside and opened the door."²

The prelate then returned to his seat, from which he addressed the assembly, related what had passed, and accused La Rochefoucauld of having attempted to murder him. "M. de La Rochefoucauld shouted at me : 'Traitor ! I care little what becomes of you.' I answered him in these words : 'Very good, my friend Frankness [it was the name we had given him in our party], you are a poltroon [I lied, for he was certainly very brave], and I am a priest ; the duel is forbidden us.' M. de Brissac, who sat immediately above, threatened

¹ Louis Molé, Seigneur de Champlâtreux. He was the eldest son of the First President.

² Retz's account of this affair is confirmed by several chroniclers, and also by the correspondents of Mazarin. La Rochefoucauld himself confesses that he was tempted to terminate the coadjutor's turbulence by a violent death, and seems to regret that Condé's followers did not embrace so excellent an opportunity.

to strike him with his cane ; the presidents threw themselves between us."

That evening, the Duc de Brissac, who was related to the coadjutor, sent to challenge La Rochefoucauld to a duel ; but Gaston d'Orléans intervened, and persuaded them to consent to a formal reconciliation.

After the tragedy came the comedy. On the day following the scenes we have just related, Retz, attired in his episcopal vestments, was leading a religious procession, when he encountered Condé and La Rochefoucauld, attended by a band of their followers, returning from the Palais de Justice. Some of Condé's partisans began to hoot the coadjutor, but the prince sternly silenced them ; and he and La Rochefoucauld, alighting from their coach, knelt, bareheaded, in the dust to receive the episcopal benediction. "I gave it them," writes Retz, "with my biretta on my head ; then I at once removed it, and made them a profound reverence." "This benediction," adds La Rochefoucauld, in his turn, "was received with every appearance of respect, although neither of the two wished it to have the effect which the coadjutor might desire."

The charges against Condé were not pressed ; indeed, on September 5, the Queen, on the mediation of Orléans, sent to the Parlement a letter formally exonerating the prince from the accusations made against him, accompanying it by a new declaration against Mazarin. But, under the pretext of giving more solemnity to the former decree, she requested that it should not be promulgated until after the King's majority. "It was

to take away with one hand what was given with the other," observes the Duc d'Aumale.¹

On September 6, Louis XIV. would complete his thirteenth year, and attain the age which the laws of France fixed for the majority of her kings. On the following day, his Majesty, before proceeding to the Parlement, where his majority would be solemnly proclaimed, would receive, at the Palais-Royal, the homage of the Queen-Mother, Orléans, the Princes of the Blood, the marshals and peers of France, and the other grandees of the realm. On the 5th, *Monsieur le Prince* convened at the Hôtel de Condé a meeting of his principal adherents, to take their advice as to whether he should attend the ceremony. The declaration proclaiming his innocence which had been read to the Parlement that morning left him no excuse for absenting himself, and his more moderate counsellors were of opinion that he ought not to neglect the duty he owed his sovereign. But the most saw in this declaration of innocence, which was not yet ratified, nothing but a ruse to conceal the perfidious projects of the Court, and they strove to dissuade him from appearing at the Palais-Royal. Their advice, unhappily, coincided with the prince's own inclinations, and he decided to follow it. Accordingly, he wrote a letter to the King, excusing himself from coming in person to offer his homage, on the ground that his enemies had rendered him so odious in his Majesty's eyes, that he felt that he could not assist without danger at the proclamation of his majority.

¹ *Histoire des Princes de Condé.*

On the following morning, as Louis XIV., surrounded by his relatives, the officers of the Crown, and the *grande*es of his realm, was preparing to set out for the Palais de Justice, the Prince de Conti approached, and handed him his brother's letter. The young King, however, did not even open it ; but, with a disdainful gesture, passed it to his *gouverneur*, the Maréchal de Villeroi. The letter was, however, read by Anne of Austria later in the day, who was so much exasperated by its contents, that, turning to Retz, she exclaimed : "*Monsieur le Prince* shall perish, or I will !"¹

While the King, in the midst of a magnificent *cortège*, was wending his way through the cheering crowds to the Palais de Justice, the first Prince of the Blood, whose place should have been by his sovereign's side, was hastening to his brother-in-law's château of Trie, in Normandy, with the object of persuading the Duc de Longueville to join him in open resistance to the royal authority. He came, however, on a bootless errand. The duke, for the reasons that we have already given, received his propositions very coldly. It was in vain that *Monsieur le Prince* recalled to him their common misfortunes, pointed out the necessity of their being united, and that honour, no less than expediency, enjoined upon him to render him all the assistance in his power. Longueville replied that it was no longer a question of opposing Mazarin, but the King himself, which

¹ Retz, *Mémoires*.

increased the danger and rendered defections probable ; that he placed but little confidence in the assistance promised by Condé's friends, and still less in the assurances of the Spaniards, who invariably promised more than they were either able or willing to perform ; and he concluded by imploring his brother-in-law to think well before plunging his country into a new civil war. As for himself, he had neither troops nor money, and was therefore not in a position to render him any effective support. "You abandon me, then," exclaimed Condé bitterly, "and leave me to the vengeance of my enemies !" Longueville, says his secretary Priolo, who was present at the interview, touched by these words, or perhaps wishing to terminate so embarrassing a conference, ended by "promising everything." But scarcely had the prince departed, than, with the fear of the dungeons of Vincennes before his eyes, he determined to remain peaceably in his province.¹

On quitting Trie, Condé did not return to Paris, but proceeded to Chantilly.² He had learned of the intention of the Court to carry out the changes in the Ministry which had been agreed upon in its alliance with the Frondeurs, and he considered the reorganised Cabinet, with Châteauneuf, the enemy of his House, at its head, as a veritable declaration of war. He despatched Priolo, who had followed him

¹ Priolo, *De Rebus Gallicis*.

² According to his biographer, Desormeaux, he narrowly escaped falling into an ambuscade which the Court had laid at Pontoise.

from Normandy, to beg the King to defer making the proposed appointments for three days, promising that, if his Majesty consented, he would return to the capital. But, though Orléans, mortified himself at not having been consulted in such an important matter, supported this proposition in the Council, the young King haughtily refused to consider it, and Châteauneuf, Molé, and La Vieuville received their respective nominations that same day.¹

On September 9, the day following these appointments, Condé summoned a meeting of his partisans at Chantilly. Many failed to answer the call, for the attitude taken up by the prince filled the more cautious with alarm, and they reflected that to make war upon the King of France was a very different matter from resisting the will of a Spanish regent and an Italian minister. Condé himself was perplexed and troubled. Now that he had actually come to the verge of the abyss, he found many reasons to deter him from taking the final step, and "pondered long the consequences of so momentous an affair."² Profoundly selfish though he was, he had seen enough of the miseries of civil war in the first Fronde to cause him to hesitate before plunging the country into another such conflict to gratify his own ambition and vanity. Nor could he disguise from himself that

¹ Châteauneuf was made chief of the Council of Despatches, a council which regulated the affairs of the provinces, and became in reality Prime Minister, though without having the title. Molé replaced Séguier, and La Vieuville, the *Président de Maisons*.

² La Rochefoucauld.

the issue was extremely doubtful. He believed himself sure—with how little reason we shall presently see—of the Duc de Bouillon and Turenne, with their military skill, their great territorial influence, and their popularity among the French Protestants ; but, on the other hand, the attitude of Longueville, of the Maréchal de la Mothe-Houdancourt, and of other nobles upon whose co-operation he had confidently counted, caused him much uneasiness.

There was, moreover, a sentimental motive which increased his reluctance to commit himself irrevocably. He had become passionately enamoured of the widowed Duchesse de Châtillon, who now resided not far from Chantilly, in the beautiful château of Merlou, or Mello, which had been left her for her life by Charlotte de Montmorency, Princesse de Condé ; and war might mean an indefinite separation from his mistress. This charming, though very calculating lady, who managed with infinite skill her haughty lover, the while her heart belonged to his friend, the handsome Duc de Nemours, had been gained by the Court, and, for some time past, had exerted all her influence over Condé to bring him to a more pacific frame of mind. Her endeavours had provoked the indignation of Madame de Longueville, who had not forgiven the duchess her successful intrigues during the last illness of *Madame la Princesse* ; and the result had been an open quarrel between the two ladies, once such sworn friends.

If any honourable accommodation had still been possible, there is every reason to believe that Condé

would have welcomed it; but the only mediation which he could accept was that of Orléans, who was governed by Retz and Madame de Chevreuse, and was not to be depended upon. The ever-present dread of arrest, too, made him fear that it was unwise to remain any longer at Chantilly, and he therefore decided to withdraw to his government of Berry, whither he had already sent his wife, his son, and his sister, and where the citadel of Bourges, or his own strongly fortified château of Montrond, would afford him a safe asylum. In Berry, among a population which was devoted to the House of Condé, and with his partisans rallying round him, he would be in a far better position to treat with the Court, than in the midst of miserable intrigues in which he risked not only his honour, but his liberty as well.

Anxious, however, to give the Court a last opportunity of holding out the olive-branch before he definitely raised the standard of revolt, he charged Orléans to demand of the Queen an explanation of the ministerial changes which had just been made in defiance of his protests, and an assurance that no design was contemplated against his person. Then he set out for the country-house of his friend the Président Perrault, at Augerville-la-Rivière, near Pithiviers, where he had informed *Monsieur* that he would await the Queen's reply.

According to La Rochefoucauld, Orléans obtained from the Queen the satisfaction demanded, but Fouquet-Croissy, whom he entrusted with the news, did not

reach Augerville until after Condé had resumed his journey ; and, when he overtook him at Bourges, the prince, encouraged by the enthusiastic reception which he had met with in his government, and believing that all France would imitate Berry, refused to consider the propositions he brought, and no longer hesitated to take up arms.¹ But Retz, whose testimony is, in this instance, to be preferred, since it is based upon that of Croissy himself, and, unlike La Rochefoucauld, he has here no interest in concealing the truth, says that Croissy found Condé very disposed to accept the proposals of the Court,² but that he was overruled by his relatives and friends, who dragged him into war to serve their own ends, particularly Madame de Longueville, who saw herself freed thereby from the necessity of joining her husband in Normandy.

Condé only remained a few hours at Bourges, and then, taking Croissy with him, set out for Montrond, where Madame de Longueville, Conti, La Rochefoucauld, Nemours, Lenet, and Viole had joined *Madame la Princesse*. Here, on September 15, the last conference was held. The prince still hesitated, pleading his aversion to civil war, the strength of the

¹ Guy Joly says that Condé received the letter on horseback, and read it without dismounting, after which he turned, and, addressing those about him, said : "If this letter had reached me a little sooner, it would have stopped me, but, being now in my saddle, I will not dismount for uncertain hopes." But Joly had a singularly fertile imagination.

² The proposals were that the States-General should be immediately summoned, and that, in the meanwhile, Condé should remain in one of his governments, in which case, no attempt would be made to molest him.

royal forces, the magic of the name of the King, the many defections which had already occurred in their party, and the danger of relying on the promises of the Spaniards. But Madame de Longueville urged him on to the breach, and drew the others along with her, and she ended by triumphing over her brother's last scruples. It was then that Condé uttered that prediction so often quoted, and which was to prove so true: "You compel me to draw the sword. Well, let it be so! Remember that I shall be the last to replace it in its scabbard."

CHAPTER XXI

Condé, accompanied by La Rochefoucauld, sets out for Bordeaux, leaving *Madame la Princesse* and her son, Madame de Longueville, Conti, and Nemours in Berry—Violence of Conti and incapacity of Nemours—Their Majesties, at the head of an army, march against them, and compel them to fly from Bourges to Montrond, and thence to Bordeaux—Reported *liaison* between Madame de Longueville and the Duc de Nemours—True explanation of the princess's conduct—Irritation of La Rochefoucauld, who immediately breaks off all relations with the lady, and "from her lover, becomes her enemy"—Despair of Madame de Longueville—Turenne and the Duc de Bouillon refuse to join Condé—Critical position of *Monsieur le Prince*—Treaty concluded between the party of the princes and Spain—Condé opens the campaign with brilliant success, which, however, is soon followed by reverses—The return of Mazarin to France changes the situation, and causes the majority of the Old Fronde to declare for Condé—Reverses of the Frondeurs on the Loire—Condé, on the advice of Madame de Longueville, resolves to leave Guienne and take command of the army of the Fronde.

THE fatal resolution once taken, Condé acted with energy and decision. He sent back Croissy to *Monsieur*, with a haughty refusal of the propositions of the Court. He despatched the faithful Lenet to Madrid, to conclude with Spain a treaty which should assure him subsidies and soldiers. He wrote to the Comte de Marsin, who commanded in Catalonia, begging him to join him in Guienne as speedily as possible, with all the troops that he could induce to follow him. He ordered *Madame la Princesse*

to remain at Montrond ; while he directed Madame de Longueville, Conti, Nemours, and Viole to proceed to Bourges, and endeavour to incite that town and the whole of Berry to revolt. Then, accompanied by La Rochefoucauld, he set out for Bordeaux, which he intended to make his headquarters.

Condé had confidently anticipated that his relatives and Nemours would experience little difficulty in inducing a province with which his family had been for so long closely identified to declare in his favour, which effected, they would be able to devote themselves to raising the neighbouring provinces, and giving assistance to the friends of La Rochefoucauld in Poitou, who were already preparing to revolt, and to the Comte du Daugnon in Saintonge and Aunis. In this expectation he was doomed to disappointment. Conti, whom he had left at the head of affairs, was entirely destitute not only of political capacity, but of ordinary tact ; while Nemours, to whom he had entrusted the military command, though a brave soldier, knew neither how to organise an army nor how to employ one when raised. The bulk of the citizens of Bourges, unlike the Bordelais, were quiet and peaceably disposed folk. They had received Condé, during his brief stay among them, with applause and expressions of sympathy ; but they did not consider that the fact of *Monsieur le Prince* having a grievance against the Court, and of his followers being in need of excitement, were adequate motives for a new civil war, and they had not the smallest desire to take part in



CHARLES AMÉDÉE DE SAVOIE, DUC DE NEMOURS.

From a contemporary print.

it. Nor was the conduct of the Prince de Conti at all calculated to alter their views. Instead of endeavouring to gain supporters for his brother by plausible arguments and adroit compliments, he conducted himself with the utmost violence against all whom he suspected of favouring the royal cause. Meeting, one day, in the street, the Lieutenant-General of the Prsdial, he seized him by the collar, crying out that he was a "Mazarin," and dragged him off a prisoner to the Grosse Tour—as the citadel of Bourges was called—while a mob followed, pelting the unfortunate officer with mud and loading him with insults.¹ As for Nemours, though still enamoured of the Duchesse de Chtillon, he found it far more congenial to make love to Madame de Longueville than to employ himself in raising and arming soldiers. The result was that, instead of making Berry a focus of military and political resistance, Conti and Nemours found themselves speedily reduced to act on the defensive; for the new Prime Minister, Chteauneuf, advised that the insurrection in that province should be promptly crushed before it had had time to spread, and that the King himself should proceed to the seat of hostilities; and, on September 26, their Majesties left Paris, with an army of 4,000 men, and marched rapidly Southwards, by way of Montargis and Gien.

At the news of the young King's approach, the citizens of Bourges began to manifest their royalist sympathies in so unmistakable a manner, that Madame

¹ Montglat.

de Longueville, her brother, and Nemours judged it prudent to beat a retreat without loss of time, and accordingly retired to Montrond. The day after their departure, Louis XIV. made his entry into the town, and was greeted with the utmost enthusiasm. The Grosse Tour, though garrisoned by Condé's soldiers, surrendered without firing a shot, upon which the King ordered it to be razed to the ground, and with his own hand pulled down the first stone.

Châteauneuf, who acted with a vigour and decision which showed that the interests of the Crown had fallen into far from incapable hands, now detached part of the army under the Comte de Palluau to lay siege to Montrond, while he himself, with the King and Queen, set out for Poitou, his intention being, after restoring order in that province, to advance into Guienne. Conti and Nemours, learning of the approach of Palluau, and being unwilling to expose the two princesses and the little Duc d'Enghien to the risks of a siege, thereupon decided to quit the château—the defence of which they entrusted to the Marquis de Persan—and escort their charges to Bordeaux, where they arrived at the end of October.

It was during their stay at Bourges and Montrond, and their journey from Berry to Bordeaux, that relations appear to have been formed between the Duc de Nemours and Madame de Longueville, which, exaggerated by rumour, reached La Rochefoucauld, and were followed by consequences very distressing to the princess.

We have mentioned that the gallant Nemours had preferred making love to Madame de Longueville to discharging the onerous military duties with which Condé had entrusted him. His attentions seem to have been not unfavourably received. The beautiful duchess, although entirely faithful to La Rochefoucauld, was naturally coquettish, and never scrupled to employ the power of her charms to gain adherents to her brother's cause, or to confirm in their loyalty those whom she suspected of meditating desertion. But, as we have seen at Stenai, she was accustomed to place very strict limits to her complacency, and, when any of her numerous adorers became too importunate, to intimate to them in an unmistakable manner the futility of their hopes. There is, indeed, no reason to suppose that Madame de Longueville was ever anything but faithful in her infidelity, or that Nemours succeeded in triumphing over a devotion which had been proof against so many assaults ; but, at the same time, there can be no doubt that she gave the handsome duke an amount of encouragement which occasioned general comment, and was calculated to give serious umbrage to a jealous lover.

Her conduct, however, is not difficult to explain. "M. de Nemours," says her step-daughter, who subsequently became the wife of the duke's younger brother and successor, "had formerly not been particularly favoured by Madame de Longueville ; and, notwithstanding the devotion he appeared to entertain for

her, as well as the good qualities and fine manners which he possessed, she found nothing charming about him, save the wish that he expressed to leave Madame de Châtillon for her, and that which she had to take away from a woman whom she disliked a friend of this consequence.”¹ Between the two duchesses there had always been a strong, and, of late, a somewhat bitter, emulation, and Madame de Longueville was by no means averse to robbing a detested rival of a lover of whom the latter believed herself so very sure. But her chief motive in seeking to detach Nemours from Madame de Châtillon was a much deeper one than the paltry desire to inflict upon the latter a mortification which she no doubt thought well deserved. Madame de Châtillon, gained by the gold of the Court, had used all her influence over Nemours to induce him to desert Condé’s party ; and, though the duke’s fidelity to his friend was not to be shaken, even by his passion for herself, he had apparently consented to do all in his power to persuade *Monsieur le Prince* to make peace. To take away Nemours from his intriguing mistress, to attach him entirely to herself, and, in consequence, to the irreconcilable section of their party, was to serve Condé’s interests, such as his sister understood them ; and, to effect this, Madame de Longueville was prepared to go to any lengths short of actual infidelity to the man who still possessed her whole heart and mind.

This is undoubtedly the true explanation of her

¹ Duchesse de Nemours, *Mémoires*.

conduct ; but La Rochefoucauld, even if he ever gave her an opportunity of tendering it, which is very improbable, absolutely refused to regard it in that light. If we are to believe the chronicler we have just cited, the duke had for some time past desired to terminate a connection which he had entered into from purely selfish motives, and of which he was beginning to grow weary.¹ “When we are tired of loving,” he says, in one of his *Maximes*, “we are very pleased if a person becomes unfaithful, to free us from our fidelity.” At the same time, if his love—and it is difficult to believe that he could have been the object of such a woman’s ardent devotion for nearly four years without conceiving for her in return a more or less sincere affection—had grown cold, his vanity was deeply wounded by the rumours which reached him, the more so that he had recently permitted himself to be drawn by her into a course of action which his judgment condemned. For does he not observe in another *Maxime* : “Jealousy is always born with love ; it does not always die with it” ?

If any explanation were offered by Madame de Longueville, which, as we have said, is very improbable, it was without effect ; and the duke separated from his mistress with a haste which seems to confirm the assertion of Madame de Nemours that “he had for some considerable time been desirous of leaving her.” But he went much further than this.

¹ “La Rochefoucauld, for some considerable time desirous of leaving her, seized this occasion with joy.”—Madame de Nemours, *Mémoires*.

“From her lover,” writes Madame de Motteville, “he became her enemy, and allowed himself to be carried away beyond what a Christian owes to his God, and a man of honour to his lady.” Not only did he break with her with as much publicity as it was possible to give to such an event; not only did he endeavour to turn against her the brother who, next to himself, was the object of her deepest affection, accusing her directly or indirectly of having betrayed Condé’s interests for those of Nemours, and insinuating, as he himself confesses, that “if a similar fancy took her for another, she was capable of going to the same extremes, if he desired it”¹ (a charge even more absurd than it was odious, since her true motive of desiring to subjugate Nemours was undoubtedly to secure his adhesion to the policy which she sincerely, though wrongly, conceived to be the wisest for her brother to adopt); but, after the lapse of eleven years, when Madame de Longueville had long been endeavouring to atone for her past errors by a life of retirement and penitence, the rancour of his wounded vanity being still unappeased, he chose to recall and to perpetuate the half-forgotten story of her frailty in his *Mémoires*, and, what is worse, to distort her conduct grossly and malignantly. But to this we shall have occasion to refer in its proper place.

The effect upon Madame de Longueville of the desertion of the man whom she had loved with such unwavering devotion for nearly four years, for whom

¹ La Rochefoucauld, *Mémoires* (edit. 1662).

she had sacrificed her reputation, the esteem of her husband and of some of her most valued friends, and, above all, the approval of her conscience which, to one of her deep religious convictions meant so much, may easily be conceived. Cruelly wounded in her affections and her pride, she was from that moment a changed woman. The change was gradual, it is true, for the feverish excitement of the next eighteen months, and the important part she was called upon to play in the events which were passing around her, left her scant time for reflection. But, when the war was over, her party utterly worsted, and her beloved brother an exile in the service of the enemies of France, and she had leisure to contemplate all the disastrous consequences of this fatal infatuation, we shall see her turn, a weary and disillusioned woman, to the ideals of her girlhood, and seek to redeem the past by five-and-twenty years of sincere and heartfelt penitence.

Condé had been received at Bordeaux with transports of joy. The enthusiasm with which the Bordelais had espoused his cause in the previous year was hardly yet extinguished, and it revived with redoubled force when, as Governor of Guienne, he came to them to demand an asylum for himself and his family. His glory and his misfortunes invested him with a halo of romance, which made an irresistible appeal to the emotional Southern temperament; and on all sides he found nothing but expressions of sympathy and assurances of devotion. The more adventurous spirits

among the citizens hastened to enrol themselves under his banner ; the Parlement addressed to the King a long remonstrance on the wrong which the Crown had committed in persecuting a Prince of the Blood who had rendered such signal services to the State, and despatched this remonstrance to all the Parlements of the kingdom, inviting them to unite with it in so good a cause ; the First President, Du Bernet, who was known to be attached to the Court, was driven away, and his place taken by the Président d'Affis, a devoted adherent of Condé ; while some members of the Parlement actually went so far as to offer to proclaim the prince Duke of Guienne, a proposition, however, which was curtly declined.

Condé had long since decided upon his plan of campaign if he found himself obliged to have recourse to arms. The war was to be carried on in two distinct theatres : in the South, between the Loire and the Pyrenees, where he himself would take supreme command ; and on the North-Eastern frontier, where he intended that Turenne should operate, at the head of the regiments of the House of Condé, which were concentrated at Stenai. He calculated that the numerical superiority of the royal forces would be more than counteracted by the fact that the Court had not a single general of the first rank, with the exception of Harcourt, to oppose to two of the greatest captains of the age, and that, while one held the bulk of the enemy's troops in check, the other would be left free to strike some decisive blow.

The success of this scheme, however, depended entirely on the co-óperation of Turenne, for to replace him was impossible ; and it is almost certain that Condé would never have taken up arms, and that Madame de Longueville would never have counselled such a step, had they not both felt confident of the marshal's support. Scarcely had Condé quitted Chantilly on his journey to the South, than he despatched Gourville to make all the necessary arrangements with Turenne, or, in case of his absence, with the Duc de Bouillon, so that he might be prepared to take the field immediately hostilities began. It was the duke whom Gourville saw, when, to his astonishment and mortification, that nobleman informed him that he and his brother had pledged themselves to the other side ; that they were willing and anxious to do everything in their power to facilitate a reconciliation between *Monsieur le Prince* and the Court, but that, if he insisted on declaring war, they could not follow him. "Those MM. de Bouillon," wrote the Princess Palatine to her sister the Queen of Poland, "wished to see, if in giving their protection to the Court, they would recover their principality [of Sedan]. In the event of their not being satisfied, they will throw themselves into the party of *Monsieur le Prince*." ¹ The Palatine, usually so astute and far-sighted, was, on this occasion, mistaken. Both Turenne and Bouillon were, as has been mentioned, extremely dissatisfied with Condé, who, they considered, had

¹ Letter of October 1, 1651, published by the Duc d'Aumale.

neglected their interests ; they were tired of rebellion, and very far from inclined to engage in a fresh one, of which the issue, even with their assistance, was extremely doubtful, and which seemed to have no other object than the aggrandizement of *Monsieur le Prince* and his family. They had therefore definitely decided to accept the offer of Mazarin, which included, for Bouillon, an immense indemnity for the loss of Sedan, and, for his brother, the command of the royal forces ; and they only awaited the expected return of the Cardinal to declare themselves openly.

Gourville's report was a terrible blow to Condé, who could no longer disguise from himself that his position was a most critical one. He had received intelligence that a strong force was being organised to march against him, under the command of the Comte d'Harcourt, and to oppose it he had neither troops nor money wherewith to raise them, for the undisciplined rabble of Bordeaux was likely to prove more of an encumbrance than a support. Never had he found himself in a more difficult situation ; but never did he display greater energy or capacity.

He seized at once upon the money in the Government offices at Bordeaux, and, to assure himself further pecuniary resources without exciting discontent, he diminished the taxation of the province, at the same time, directing that all contributions were to be paid to his agents. With the funds thus obtained, he despatched emissaries into all the country round to raise soldiers and concentrate them at the various

points at which he considered they might be employed to the best advantage. He negotiated a close alliance with the Prince de Tarente, son and heir of the Duc de la Trémoille, the Comte du Daugnon, Governor of Aunis and Saintonge, and other great nobles of the South-West. He sent directions to the Comte de Tavannes to march to his assistance with the troops which he had under his command at Stenai, and despatched the Duc de Nemours to Flanders, to obtain a Spanish contingent wherewith to reinforce them. Finally, on November 6, through the agency of Lenet, he concluded a treaty with Spain,¹ in virtue of which a Spanish flotilla, under the Baron de Watteville, entered the Gironde. About the same time, the Comte de Marsin arrived from Catalonia, with a contingent of a thousand infantry and three hundred horse, whom he had contrived to seduce

¹ By this treaty, which was signed by Condé, Conti, Madame de Longueville, La Rochefoucauld, Nemours, and, subsequently, by the Prince de Tarente, Philip IV. agreed: (1) To place at the disposal of *Monsieur le Prince*, on the Flemish frontier, a force of 3,000 cavalry and 2,000 infantry, with artillery; (2) To maintain a naval force of thirty vessels, carrying 4,000 men, on the Gironde. Neither party was to lay down their arms until "a just, equitable, honest, and durable peace" had been made between France and Spain, and satisfaction had been given to the Prince de Condé and his associates. "This last condition," remarks the Duc d'Aumale, "was the robe of Nessus from which Condé will in vain endeavour to free himself, the stone of stumbling against which all attempts at a reconciliation, all movements of repentance, all attempts which have for their end to reconcile *Monsieur le Prince* with his country, his King, and his duty, will be broken." Nevertheless, it secured for him eventually better terms than he might otherwise have succeeded in obtaining, since in 1660, Philip IV. and his Ministers very honourably refused to accept the terms offered them by Mazarin, unless their ally were restored to all his former offices and dignities.

from their allegiance ; whilst Condé was also joined by the celebrated German soldier of fortune, Balthazar, who had formerly served under him in Flanders, and whose services had lately been refused by the Court.

In spite of the weakness of his forces, Condé now resolved to take the offensive. Accordingly, having delivered the town of Bourg on the Dordogne to the Spaniards, in order to protect Bordeaux and hold in check the Duc de Saint-Simon, who commanded for the King at Blaye, and having placed a garrison at Libourne, under the command of the Comte de Maure, he quitted Bordeaux, and in a fortnight had overrun Guienne, Périgord, Angoumois, and Saintonge. On the East, he took Agen (where he left the Prince de Conti in command), Bergerac, and Périgueux, and advanced almost to the gates of Angoulême. On the West, he seized the line of the Charente, and invested Saintes, Taillebourg, and Tonnai-Charente. His intention was to push forward into the government of his ally the Comte du Daugnon, where he could use the fortresses of La Rochelle and Brouage, and the islands of Ré and Oléron as his base, and receive assistance, if necessary, from the ships of Du Daugnon.¹ He would then be able to manœuvre freely on all sides, and threaten Poitiers, where the Court was now established ; while Marsin, whom he had left at Bordeaux, could be trusted to retain the conquests already made.

¹ Du Daugnon was Vice-Admiral of France, and had part of the fleet under his command at La Rochelle,

This bold plan failed, through the duplicity of the Comte du Daugnon. That nobleman, lured by the promises of Condé, had entered into an alliance with him ; but he had no intention of remaining faithful to the prince's cause, if fortune frowned upon it, and desired to keep La Rochelle and Brouage in his own hands, in order that he might, in that eventuality, be in a better position to treat with the Court. He therefore declined to deliver them to Condé, protesting that he was well able to defend them without any assistance from him. The inhabitants of La Rochelle, however, were weary of their governor's oppression and tyranny, and had little sympathy with Condé's pretensions. On the approach of Harcourt, they hastened to join him ; the Tower of Saint-Nicolas capitulated ; and Du Daugnon was compelled to fly to Brouage.

This reverse was speedily followed by others. La Rochefoucauld was forced to raise the siege of Cognac ; Saintes and Taillebourg surrendered to the royal troops, and Condé found himself obliged to fall back towards the Garonne, followed by Harcourt and harassed by continual skirmishes. By the end of the year, hard pressed on all sides, he was only able to move between that river and the Dordogne, and, but for the excessive prudence with which his name inspired the royalist general, his scanty forces must have been crushed entirely. Such was the position of affairs when an event occurred which reanimated the hopes of the prince and appeared to give new strength to his party.

Since the proclamation of the King's majority, Mazarin had submitted to his exile with an ever-increasing impatience. He had not learned without uneasiness of the success of Châteauneuf. He saw him active and resolute, accepted as chief by all his colleagues, and apparently regarded with growing favour by the Queen herself. Châteauneuf, it is true, had entered the Ministry with an undertaking to recall Mazarin as speedily as possible ; but, as has already been said, he had not the least intention of resigning his place to his rival, if he could by any means contrive to retain it ; and he did not fail to represent to the Queen the danger of a too precipitate recall of the disgraced Minister. The King's armies, he pointed out, had been victorious over Condé, and soon the revolt would be entirely subdued ; but to allow Mazarin to reappear at this juncture would drive Orléans, Beaufort, all Paris, and half of France to declare for *Monsieur le Prince*, and undo everything. Anne of Austria, who "desired the return of the Cardinal, but desired the welfare of the State above all things,"¹ seemed to incline more and more to these judicious, though far from disinterested, counsels ; and Mazarin, who had at first experienced considerable difficulty in restraining her impatient affection, finding her more resigned to his continued absence, became seriously alarmed. He had received, on November 24, a letter from Louis XIV., authorising him to "come to the succour of his King ;" and, convinced that, if he once

¹ Motteville.

allowed Châteauneuf to establish himself permanently in the royal favour, he would be powerless to oust him from it, he determined to take advantage of his Majesty's invitation. Accordingly, he quitted Brühl, and established himself at Huy, in Flanders, and afterwards at Dinant, from which latter place he issued a manifesto addressed to the King, in which he announced that he would cheerfully remain in exile, if his misfortune contributed to the welfare of France ; but that, since his departure, the state of affairs had grown worse, and he had therefore resolved, with the authority of their Majesties, to employ his feeble resources in defence of their cause. Finally, on December 24, he arrived at Sedan, at the head of an army of 6,000 German mercenaries, who wore the green scarf of his House, and was received with open arms by the governor of that town, his faithful adherent Fabert.

After a brief stay at Sedan, the Cardinal advanced into Champagne, where he was joined by Hocquincourt, at the head of a royal army. His progress was slow but uninterrupted, and he reached the Loire without any more serious opposition than two envoys from the Parlement, who had been sent to endeavour to raise the provinces against him. One of the envoys was captured by Hocquincourt, and the other took to flight. On January 16, 1652, he crossed the Loire, at Gien and directed his course towards Poitiers, where he arrived on January 30. Louis XIV. and all the Court came out to meet him, and he entered

the town, riding in triumph in his Majesty's coach, to be received by Anne of Austria with a joy that she was at no pains to conceal. Two days later, Turenne, whom the Cardinal had now completely won over, arrived at Poitiers, to offer his sword definitely to the King.

Mazarin's bold action—a most politic one, when viewed in the light of his own interests—revived the expiring cause of Condé. The Parlement, which, on December 4, in spite of the opposition of Orléans, had issued a decree proclaiming *Monsieur le Prince*, Madame de Longueville, Conti, Nemours, and La Rochefoucauld “attainted and convicted of high treason and *lèse-majesté*,” now voted that this sentence should be suspended, and renewed their old declarations against Mazarin. Every fresh report of the Cardinal's advance wrought the magistrates to increased fury; and, on December 29, they passed “a decree which would not have been unworthy of the Revolutionary Tribunal.”¹ By this decree, a reward of 150,000 livres was offered to whoever should deliver up the Cardinal, alive or dead, the money to be furnished by the sale of the magnificent library which Mazarin had collected with so much labour and expense, for the use of the scholars of his own day and of all time. Condé seized the opportunity to write to the Parlement, explaining that his real motive in taking up arms was to oppose the expected return of Mazarin, and offering his alliance. But that body, whose hatred of the Cardinal was all that was left of its old spirit, had not the courage

¹ Mr. J. B. Perkins, “France under Mazarin.”

to discharge anything more deadly than declarations, and, indeed, throughout the rest of the war pursued a vacillating policy, which rendered it equally odious to both parties.

However, the reappearance of Mazarin secured Condé the assistance of more serviceable allies than an assembly whose discredit was every day increasing. *Monsieur*, with whom the prince had been for some time past negotiating, believing that he had been the dupe of the Queen, concluded an alliance with him ; and after the retirement of Châteauneuf, whom Mazarin speedily contrived to get rid of, Beaufort and most of the Frondeurs also declared for Condé. Madame de Chevreuse and a few of her particular friends remained faithful to the Queen. Retz played fast and loose with both sides, through fear of forfeiting his cardinal's hat ; and informed the Queen that he would make no terms with Condé, if his nomination were not revoked, but would don the prince's colours the very next day, if she even threatened its revocation.¹

During the early months of 1652, the war in

¹ Retz, though anxious to prevent the return of Mazarin to power, was still very hostile to Condé, who, in the previous October, had sent Gourville and some of his more reckless followers secretly to Paris, with orders to kidnap him and carry him off to Damvilliers. The conspirators, aware that the coadjutor was in the habit of paying nightly visits to his mistress at the Hôtel de Chevreuse, and remaining with her until a very late hour, lay in wait one evening to seize him as he left the house, but he chanced to go home by an unaccustomed way. They had no opportunity of repeating the attempt, as on the morrow the plot was discovered.

Guienne continued with no marked success on either side. At the end of February, Condé defeated the troops of the Marquis de Saint-Luc, Governor of Montauban, near Agen, and then laid siege to Miradoux, a little town of the Lower Armagnac, into which the routed Royalists had thrown themselves. But the place offered a vigorous resistance, and gave Harcourt time to come to its assistance, upon which *Monsieur le Prince* raised the siege and fell back to Agen.

On the Loire, the Frondeurs had two armies : one under the leadership of Beaufort, who commanded the troops of *Monsieur* ; the other under that of Nemours, composed of the troops of Condé which he had brought from the North. The jealousy between the two generals, which was to culminate in so tragic a manner four months later, lost Angers, where the Duc de Rohan-Chabot¹ had raised the standard of revolt, to the prince's party ; and would have lost Orléans as well, but for the intrepidity of *Mademoiselle*, who succeeded in gaining admission to the city, through a hole which she caused to be made in the

¹ Henri, Duc de Rohan-Chabot, was originally a Poitevin gentleman of very moderate estate, who had had the good fortune to gain the affections of Marguerite de Rohan, the daughter and heiress of the celebrated Henri, Duc de Rohan. Thanks largely to Condé's support, his suit had been successful, and he was created a duke, under the title of Rohan-Chabot. His declaration in their favour excited great hopes in Condé's party, but his defence of Angers was feeble in the extreme. "He began as a Rohan, he has finished as a Chabot," observed Gaston d'Orléans, whose wit was one of his few redeeming qualities.

wall, and induced the citizens to close their gates against the royal troops. The new Joan of Arc, however, was unable to prevent the army of the Fronde from being defeated by Turenne, at Jargeau ; a disaster which so increased the ill-feeling between Nemours and Beaufort, that their councils of war threatened to degenerate into pugilistic contests, and, on one occasion, not even their respect for *Mademoiselle* prevented them from coming to blows.¹

The ineptitude of the two dukes called imperatively for Condé's presence on the Loire. The scanty forces under his command in Guienne rendered it impossible for him to achieve anything of importance in that province, and obliged him to act almost entirely on the defensive. On the other hand, the united armies of Beaufort and Nemours were superior in numbers to the troops opposed to them, and were composed, for the most part, of veteran soldiers. Under his own leadership, great results might be expected, and the war might assume an entirely different complexion.

Before, however, taking so important a step, and embarking upon a journey which was bound to be attended with grave danger, he took counsel with his

¹ "The Duc de Nemours was in so great a rage that he knew not what he said. He began to swear, and declared that *Monsieur le Prince* was deceived, and he knew who it was had deceived him. M. de Beaufort asked him : 'Who is it ?' He answered : 'It is you !' Upon that, they struck each other. . . . They laid their hands on their swords ; people threw themselves between them, in order to separate them. There was a terrible commotion."—Mlle. de Montpensier, *Mémoires*.

principal partisans. The majority of them were undecided ; for, though they recognised the necessity of superseding Nemours and Beaufort, who were obviously no match for Turenne, or even for Hocquincourt, by a competent leader, the risk of the prince falling into the hands of the enemy, during a journey of one hundred and fifty leagues through a country almost entirely held by the royal troops, appeared to them too great to justify the attempt. The advice of Madame de Longueville, however, carried the day. Since that fatal hour when she had contributed so largely to force her brother into civil war, she had urged him unceasingly never to lay down his arms until victory had crowned his efforts ; and she now declared, without a moment's hesitation, that, whatever the personal risk involved, it was his manifest duty to adopt the only course which could save their cause from disaster.

Her advice accorded with the prince's own inclinations, and he at once determined to cross Harcourt's lines, gain the Loire, and take command of the forces at present so terribly handicapped by the jealousy and incapacity of their leaders. Then, having created order out of chaos, and restored the courage of his troops and of his party generally by some signal success, it was his intention to proceed to Paris and endeavour to induce the Parlement and the citizens to declare in his favour.

Before leaving Guienne, however, it was necessary to provide for the government and defence of that part

of the province which still remained in his hands, and particularly of Bórdeaux. He therefore nominated the Prince de Conti his lieutenant-general, believing that his rank would add lustre to his authority, dominate all rivalries, and secure a more ready obedience. But, being well aware of the vanity and incapacity of that prince, which had already cost him so dear in Berry—although Conti had somewhat rehabilitated himself of late in his brother's eyes by his government of Agen, and by the courage he had displayed in more than one skirmish—he directed him to take no step of any importance, except on the advice of a council, which was to be composed of the Princesse de Condé, Madame de Longueville, Lenet, the Comte de Marsin, and the Président Viole. Such a government, he calculated, could not fail to make an excellent impression, and ought, with the assistance promised by Spain, to experience no difficulty in retaining its hold on Bordeaux and the Gironde for at least a year, and give him time to strike some decisive blow. He was assured of the devotion of his wife, and the immense popularity which she enjoyed among the Bordelais was an important factor in the situation; Viole had already acquired considerable influence over the Parlement of Bordeaux; Madame de Longueville, at Stenai, had displayed courage and intelligence of the highest order, and the ascendancy which she had always exercised over the mind of her younger brother would, he hoped, prevent the latter from taking any measures contrary to the wishes of his advisers; Lenet was a skilful

diplomatist, who could be trusted to conduct the most complicated negotiations with ability and success ; while Marsin was a brave and experienced general. It was in the hands of the last three that all real power was vested.

CHAPTER XXII

Condé's adventurous ride from Agen to the Loire—He takes command of the army of the Frondeurs, and defeats Hocquincourt at Bléneau, but is checked by Turenne—He leaves the army and sets out for Paris—State of public feeling in the capital hostile to the Fronde—Disgraceful conspiracy of La Rochefoucauld and the Duchesse de Châtillon against Madame de Longueville—Futile negotiations with the Court—Condé appeals to the populace—Charles IV. of Lorraine invades France, but is induced to withdraw his troops—Condé resumes command of the army of the Fronde—Battle of the Faubourg Saint-Antoine—Massacre at the Hôtel de Ville—Fatal duel between Nemours and Beaufort—Amnesty of August 26, 1652—The Duke of Lorraine again invades France—Condé, disdaining to accept the amnesty, leaves Paris and proceeds to Flanders—Return of the Court to Paris—The Duc d'Orléans is exiled, and Retz arrested and imprisoned—Triumphant return of Mazarin.

THIS important matter satisfactorily arranged, at noon on Palm Sunday, May 24, 1652, Condé, accompanied by La Rochefoucauld, his eldest son the young Prince de Marsillac, then aged fifteen, Gourville, the Marquis de Lévis, the Comtes de Guitaut and de Chavagnac, Bercenay, captain of La Rochefoucauld's guards, and a *valet de chambre* of the prince, named Rochefort, quitted Agen and set out on his perilous journey.

Gourville has left, in his *Mémoires*, a graphic account of that famous ride, which reads like a page from the most extravagant of romances of adventure. Dressed

like ordinary soldiers, and affecting their rough speech and manners, in order to sustain the part, Condé and his companions journeyed day and night ; almost always on the same horses ; never stopping more than a couple of hours in the same place, either for food or rest ; avoiding towns, high-roads, and bridges, and travelling by bridle-paths, through woods, and across fields ; fording swift rivers, traversing dangerous mountain-paths. Sometimes, their identity was so little suspected that, on one occasion, at a village inn, the innkeeper requested the prince to saddle a horse, and, on another, while lodging at the château of a gentleman of Périgord, their host, anxious to show his acquaintance with Court gossip, began jesting with considerable freedom about the amours of La Rochefoucauld and Madame de Longueville. At other times, they were within an ace of being discovered and taken prisoners. Their horses became so exhausted that they could hardly carry them, and the riders themselves were in little better case. La Rochefoucauld, tortured by gout, rode with one of his legs swathed in flannel ; the young Prince de Marsillac could with difficulty keep his saddle. Condé alone seemed proof against every hardship, sleeping and waking at will, and preserving that serenity and good-humour which he never failed to display in the midst of fatigue and danger.

On the Saturday evening, the little party reached La Charité, whence Condé despatched Gourville to Paris, to inform *Monsieur* that he intended to proceed to the capital after having visited the army. As he was

ignorant where it lay, he decided to gain the château of Madame de Châtillon, at Châtillon-sur-Loing, where he might learn news of it, and take some much-needed repose after the fatigues of the journey. But the Court, which was at Gien, had got wind of his movements ; a troop of cavalry was despatched in pursuit of him, with orders to take him, alive or dead, and it was only by a miracle that he contrived to escape them and reach Châtillon in safety. Here he was informed that the army of the Frondeurs was quartered near Lorris, eight leagues distant, and hastening on—for his pursuers were close at his heels—he fell in with its advanced posts on April 1.

Nemours and Beaufort inspired so little apprehension among the Royalists, that they had temporarily divided their forces, for the purpose of obtaining better quarters and forage. Their Majesties and Mazarin, with some of the Household troops, were at Gien, not far from Turenne, who had his quarters at Briare ; while Hocquincourt, with another division of the army, was encamped at Bléneau, on the Loing, some five leagues away. Condé, who had at once assumed command of the army of the Fronde, resolved to attack each of the marshals in turn, and overwhelm them by superior numbers ; and, on the night of April 6–7, he fell suddenly upon Hocquincourt, and completely routed him. Turenne, hastening with some infantry battalions to the assistance of his colleagues, under the impression that he had been attacked by Nemours, perceived, by the light of the burning

villages, the skilful disposition of the enemy's forces, and recognised that he had a very different antagonist with whom to deal. "Ah!" he exclaimed, "*Monsieur le Prince* has come." He fell back until he was joined by the rest of his division, and took up a very strong position on a height, protected, on his left, by a dense wood, the road through which was completely commanded by his artillery, and, on his right, by marshes. Here a sharp encounter took place; but the nature of the ground prevented Condé from utilizing to advantage his great superiority in cavalry; while Turenne's artillery, which was both numerous and well served, did great execution. At length, Hocquincourt, having rallied some of his routed troops, joined the marshal, and the Duc de Bouillon arrived with reinforcements from Gien; upon which Condé withdrew towards Châtillon, while Turenne retired to Gien, where he was welcomed with an enthusiasm corresponding to the terror which the first news of the disaster to Hocquincourt had occasioned the Court.

In the meanwhile, Gourville had returned from Paris, bringing letters from the Duc de Rohan-Chabot and others of their party in the capital, strongly urging Condé to proceed thither as speedily as possible. They represented that the close alliance between Orléans and himself was essential to the success of the Fronde, but that Retz, who had at last obtained his coveted hat, exercised such influence over the latter's mind that, unless Condé were present in person to

counteract his machinations, they feared that he would end by detaching *Monsieur* altogether from their cause ; that the friends of Mazarin were every day becoming more bold ; that the Parlement, although so bitterly hostile to the Cardinal, still hesitated to join hands with the enemies of the Government ; that the better-class citizens were almost unanimous in demanding the return of the King and peace ; while the populace, in the absence of their idol Beaufort, were becoming positively indifferent. In short, they declared that, unless *Monsieur le Prince* appeared at once in Paris, the city would be lost to the Fronde—a disaster for which, in their opinion, no victories on the Loire could possibly atone.

Condé yielded to these representations, and, two days after the combat at Bléneau, set out for Paris, taking with him La Rochefoucauld, Nemours, and Beaufort. In leaving the army at this juncture, there can be no question that he committed a fatal error. Few men were less fitted than himself to deal with the caprices of a great city, to measure swords with consummate intriguers like Retz, or to calm the fears and soothe the susceptibilities of timid and vacillating princes like Orléans. On the other hand, he alone possessed the necessary authority to ensure discipline and cohesion among the different elements, French and foreign, which composed the army of the Frondeurs, or sufficient skill to cope with a commander like Turenne. The Comte de Tavannes, to whom he entrusted the command, had proved himself, on

more than one occasion, a brave and capable officer, when acting under Condé's orders, but he had few of the qualifications of a general-in-chief.

Condé reached Paris on April 11, and entered the city followed by some fifty coaches filled with his friends and retainers. He found, however, little to reassure him. The miserable war which his ambition had provoked had already begun to cause widespread distress among the poorer classes, who seemed, writes a correspondent of Mazarin, to be perishing before one's eyes; while the merchants complained bitterly that business was almost at a standstill. With the coming of *Monsieur le Prince*, who seemed to portend trouble wherever he appeared, the citizens saw war already at their gates; and some of them were heard to declare that they would rather have a score of foreign cardinals than a day of battle in the streets of Paris. Condé visited the Parlement, and asserted that he had no other desire than to serve it and to secure the execution of its decrees—that is to say, to secure the banishment of Mazarin from the kingdom. He met, however, with a very cold reception, and the Président Bailleul, who presided over the assembly in the absence of Mathieu Molé, who, as Keeper of the Seals, had followed the Court, expressed his grief at seeing a Prince of the Blood seated on the *fleurs-de-lys*, with his hands stained with the blood of loyal subjects of the King. The presidents of the other Courts remonstrated with Condé in no measured terms, and urged him to

make his peace with the Court ; and Le Féron, the Provost of the Merchants, and the Maréchal de l'Hôpital, Governor of Paris, adopted the same tone. It was evident that times had changed, and that all classes were weary of war and sighed for peace.

Nor could Condé succeed in persuading the irresolute Orléans to commit himself any further than he had already done, in spite of the efforts of the duchess and *Mademoiselle*, for *Monsieur* was jealous of the prince, and Retz took care to insinuate that the latter desired merely to use him for his own ends. Perceiving the difficulty of inducing the capital to declare in his favour, Condé inclined to the counsel of the majority of his friends, who now advised that an attempt should be made to come to terms with the Court, and “allowed himself to be drawn once more,” says La Rochefoucauld, “into an abyss of negotiations, of which one never saw the bottom, and which have always been the safety of Mazarin and the ruin of his enemies.” La Rochefoucauld himself and the Duchesse de Châtillon took the chief part in urging Condé to this course ; and the duke seems to have experienced a malicious pleasure in advocating a step which he knew to be directly opposed to the advice which Madame de Longueville had given her brother : never to lay down his arms except as a conqueror. “He told me,” says Madame de Motteville, “that from jealousy and vengeance he did whatever the Duchesse de Châtillon wished.”¹

¹ *Mémoires*,

The lady in question detested Madame de Longueville, in whom she had long recognised the chief obstacle to the influence which she desired to exercise over the mind of Condé, from which she expected to derive very considerable advantages ; and her animosity had naturally not been diminished by the reports which had reached her of the devotion shown by her *amant de cœur*, the Duc de Nemours, to the princess during the journey from Montrond to Bordeaux. She now proposed to La Rochefoucauld and Nemours, who had once more fallen completely under her sway, an alliance, with the twofold object of discrediting Madame de Longueville in her brother's eyes, and of inducing the prince to enter into negotiations with the Court. So skilfully did they engineer "*cette machine*," as La Rochefoucauld calls this shameful intrigue against the woman for whom he had once professed such intense devotion, that Condé, blinded by his passion for Madame de Châtillon, was persuaded to believe his sister unworthy of the confidence he had reposed in her ; and, this once accomplished, the rest of their task was easy.

Negotiations were accordingly opened with the Court ; and Gourville carried to Saint-Germain a sort of ultimatum on behalf of *Monsieur le Prince*. Hampered as he was by his engagements with the Spaniards, which forbade him to lay down his arms until "a just, equitable, honest, and durable peace" had been concluded between them and France, he began by demanding that he and the Duc d'Orléans



ANGÉLIQUE YZABELLE DE MONTMORENCY, femme
de Gaspard Duc de Coligny, Seigneur de Chastillon.

B. Moncornet delin.

From an engraving published by Moncornet.

ANGÉLIQUE ISABELLE DE MONTMORENCY-BOUTTEVILLE,
DUCHESSE DE CHÂTILLON.

should be nominated as plenipotentiaries to arrange with Spain the terms of peace, which, as his sympathetic biographer, the Duc d'Aumale, is fain to confess, was certainly a somewhat singular proposition to come from a rebel.¹ *Monsieur* was to be satisfied in his demands, and his friends to be granted what he desired for them. Beyond the honour of working for the general peace, Condé asked nothing for himself; but he fully atoned for this apparent modesty by the exorbitant demands which he made on behalf of his adherents. Thus, he asked for Conti the government of Provence, which had been promised him in 1651, in exchange for that of Champagne and Brie; for Nemours, the government of Auvergne; the brevet of *maréchal de France* for Du Daugnon; high posts under government for Lenet and Viole; the restoration to the Duc de Rohan-Chabot of his government of Anjou; the government of Bergerac for the Marquis de la Force; while La Rochefoucauld was not only to be restored to his government of Poitou, but he was to receive the sum of 120,000 livres, to enable him to treat for the governments of Saintonge or Angoumois, or any other, at his discretion. Finally, the services of Madame de Châtillon in the cause of peace and concord—although nothing is said about the matter in the official document—were to be recognised by a *gratification* of 100,000 écus. As for Madame de Longueville, who had made ruinous sacrifices for her brother's cause, and had even been compelled

¹ *Histoire des Princes de Condé.*

to part with her jewellery, so effectually had her enemies contrived to prejudice Condé's mind against her, that her name is not even mentioned, either in the instructions given to Gourville or in any other document—an omission upon which she is to be felicitated, since it places her disinterestedness above suspicion.

In regard to Mazarin, Condé's proposals were moderate, but somewhat vague : he was to retire from the kingdom ; but there was to be a tacit understanding that this retirement should be only temporary, and *Monsieur le Prince* would defer signing the peace until after his return.

As may well be supposed, the Cardinal was in no hurry to give a definite answer to these propositions ; and, while he pursued his usual temporizing policy, the Luxembourg intervened. Retz, who was well aware that a reconciliation between Condé and Mazarin would be the signal for his own ruin, since both were equally exasperated against him, persuaded Orléans that the negotiations begun by the prince threatened his own authority, and that it behoved him to take steps to avert such a danger, by offering Mazarin more advantageous terms. Gaston therefore sent the Duc de Damville secretly to the Queen, to beg her to come to no arrangement with Condé, since *Monsieur* himself desired to have the merit of restoring peace. Neither of these negotiations came to anything, and their only result was to breed distrust between Orléans and Condé.

Irritated by the failure of his negotiations with the Court, and foiled in his attempt to secure the support of the better classes in Paris which the Old Fronde had once possessed, Condé now determined to appeal to the populace, and, by enlisting in his cause the lowest element in the capital, coerce the magistracy and the bourgeoisie into uniting with him. Money and promises, and that love of disorder which has made the rabble of Paris for centuries one of the most formidable forces in French politics, quickly did their work ; and there gathered round him, from the dregs of the people, a new Fronde, a mob of discharged soldiers, cut-throats, and vagabonds of every description, who stopped respectable citizens in the street and compelled them to join with them in reviling Mazarin, crowded round the Palais de Justice, demanding the union of the Parlement with the princes, and, on one occasion, even forced their way into the Grande Chambre, and compelled the terrified judges to fly before them.

In the meanwhile, matters had been going badly with the troops which Condé had left upon the Loire. On the morning of May 4, while they were quartered in and around Étampes, Turenne, who had made a rapid night-march from Saint-Germain, suddenly fell upon them, destroyed or captured part of the army, and held the rest closely blockaded in the town. However, the arrival in France, at the end of May, of that princely highwayman Charles IV. of Lorraine, who, in the previous January, had signed a treaty

with Orléans and Condé, inspired the dispirited Frondeurs with fresh hope. The duke advanced, at the head of an army of some 10,000 mercenaries, murdering, pillaging, and burning, and leaving his troops encamped at Villeneuve-Saint-Georges, came himself to Paris, where, in spite of his unsavoury reputation, he became the hero of the day, and made love impartially to all the Amazons of the Fronde. Had he carried out his engagements, affairs might have assumed an entirely different aspect; but his only desire was to fill his coffers, and he much preferred to treat with the Court, than to risk his army of bandits—his sole fortune—against a general like Turenne. Through the diplomacy of Madame de Chevreuse, a treaty was concluded, by which it was agreed that the Royalists should raise the siege of Étampes, to secure which, Charles IV. had the effrontery to declare to Condé, had been the sole object of his expedition, and that the duke should then withdraw his troops to Flanders. By June 10, his army was on the march to the frontier.

Condé, betrayed on all sides, at length comprehended the fatal error he had committed in leaving his army, to engage in intrigues which led to no result, and of having preferred the counsels of an avaricious mistress to those of a courageous and devoted sister. Weakened and disheartened as his forces were, he hoped that his presence might yet turn the fortune of the war, and, at the end of June, he left Paris to resume the command. It was too late. The sword, sickness,

and, above all, desertion had reduced his forces to less than 6,000 men, with which to oppose two armies each superior in numbers to his own—namely, the one commanded by Turenne, and another under La Ferté-Senneterre, composed of troops recently brought from the Eastern frontier. The Frondeurs lay at Saint-Cloud, where the bridge across the Seine ensured their communications with the capital; the two marshals having united their forces, advanced to Saint-Denis, where the Court also established itself. Turenne threw a bridge of boats across the river at Épinay, and began making preparations to attack; and Condé, aware that it would be impossible to hold his position in the face of the superior numbers of the enemy, decided to pass the river, gain Charenton, and entrench himself on the tongue of land formed by the confluence of the Seine and the Marne. In the early morning of July 2, he began his march, and since, notwithstanding the terrorism exercised by the mob, the governor of Paris and the municipal authorities had remained firm in their refusal to allow his troops to pass through the city, he was compelled to make a circuit of the walls from the Porte Saint-Honoré to the Porte Saint-Antoine, in order to gain the Charenton road. But Turenne, who had received early information of his movements, was in close pursuit; and Condé, perceiving the impossibility of reaching Charenton without giving battle, concentrated his forces around the Porte Saint-Antoine, and awaited the attack of the Royalists.

The position was well chosen. The open space before the gate was approached by three streets in the form of a fan, bordered by walls, gardens, houses, and convents, and, at several points, barricades, which had been erected by the inhabitants to protect them from the attacks of the Duke of Lorraine's marauders, were still standing. These Condé caused to be strengthened, besides fortifying several of the houses, which he filled with musketeers. The defence of the three streets he confided respectively to Nemours, Tavannes, and Vallon, who commanded the contingent of the Duc d'Orléans ; while he himself, with La Rochefoucauld and a body of picked soldiers, remained in readiness to give his support at whatever point it was most needed. Turenne, who ever combined courage with discretion, though superior in numbers, wished to await the arrival of La Ferté-Senneterre and the heavy artillery, when his advantage would be overwhelming. But Louis XIV. and Mazarin, who had stationed themselves upon the heights of Charonne, whence they could perceive all that was passing, pressed him to attack at once, and he yielded to their persuasions.

The Royalists came on with the most reckless courage, and were met with equal resolution ; the leaders on both sides performed prodigies of valour, and the slaughter among the officers was out of all proportion to the total number of the slain, though, as is usual in street fighting, this was very heavy. The Marquis de Saint-Mesgrin, who had for years cherished

the most bitter hatred against Condé, as his successful rival in the affections of Mlle. du Vigean, had sworn to avenge his lost love or perish in the attempt, and fell dead almost at the prince's feet; Paul Mancini, Mazarin's nephew, a brave lad of sixteen, destined by the Cardinal to be the inheritor of his wealth and the husband of Mlle. de Chevreuse, received a mortal wound, to which he succumbed two days later; Nemours was twice wounded, and his armour almost hacked to pieces; Bercenay, one of the heroes of the famous ride from Agen to the Loire, was killed; and La Rochefoucauld was struck by a musket-ball, "which pierced his face above the eyes, almost carrying them out of his head." This serious wound deprived him of his sight for some time, and abruptly terminated his career as a Frondeur.¹

At length, towards noon—the fight had begun at seven—La Ferté-Senneterre came up, and the defenders, now completely outnumbered, were slowly driven back upon the Porte Saint-Antoine. The wicket was opened occasionally, to allow the wounded to be carried into the town, but the great gate itself remained ob-

¹ Gourville relates that, as a souvenir of this misfortune, he caused a portrait of Madame de Longueville to be engraved, beneath which might be read the following verses, parodied from the *Alcyonée* of Du Ryer:

Faisant la guerre au roi, j'ai perdu les deux yeux;
Mais pour un tel objet, je l'aurais faite aux Dieux.

But, according to his biographer, M. Bourdeau, he subsequently composed a new variation:

Pour ce cœur inconstant, qu'enfin je connais mieux,
J'ai fait la guerre au roi: j'en ai perdu les yeux.

stinately shut. Condé sent messenger after messenger to Orléans, imploring him to give orders for it to be opened ; but *Monsieur*, "obsessed by the Cardinal de Retz, who desired to rid himself of the Prince de Condé and to leave him to perish,"¹ was deaf to all appeals. It seemed as if the hapless Frondeurs, hemmed in between the city walls and their victorious foes, would be annihilated, when suddenly the gate was seen to open, while almost simultaneously the cannon of the Bastille opened fire on the royal troops. Their salvation was the work of *Mademoiselle*, who, by dint of tears and supplications, had wrested an order from her irresolute father to permit the troops of Condé to enter the city, and for the artillery of the fortress to cover their retreat.²

The broken remnant of Condé's forces was saved, and Paris had apparently declared for the Fronde ; but the vast majority of the Parlement and of the bourgeoisie regarded with indignation and alarm the admission of a rebel army into the capital. On July 4, the city officers, many members of the Parlement, several of the clergy, and delegates from the various parishes assembled, to the number of over three hundred, at the Hôtel de Ville, to deliberate on what measures should be adopted for the safety of the city.

¹ Motteville.

² The order had, of course, to be countersigned by the Maréchal de l'Hôpital, as Governor of Paris, who had little sympathy with the Fronde ; but if, as Conrart asserts, *Mademoiselle* threatened to tear the marshal's beard out by the roots, unless he complied with her demand, we can scarcely wonder that he lacked the courage to refuse.

Orléans and Condé hoped that the gathering would declare for a union of Paris with them in their war against the King; and a ferocious mob, among which are said to have been many of Condé's soldiers disguised as artisans, gathered in the Place de Grève, to terrorize the assembly into submission. When it became known that the only resolution passed was one asking the King to grant peace to his subjects and to return to Paris, the rabble attacked the Hôtel de Ville, murdered several of the delegates, and set the building on fire. Terrified messages for help were sent to the princes, but they declined to interfere;¹ and it was left to Beaufort and *Mademoiselle* to disperse the mob, and save the Hôtel de Ville and its inmates from the destruction of the flames.

This atrocious episode, worthy of the worst days of the League, was the death-blow of the Fronde. Condé had indeed succeeded in terrifying the city into submission, but he had done so at the expense of his fame and of his cause. All except the refuse of the people were filled with horror and loathing for a party which sought to compass its ends by such means. With only the skeleton of an army, without moral

¹ Conrart, the Venetian Ambassador Morosini, and the registers of the Hôtel de Ville all accuse the princes of inciting the massacre; and the last authority states that, as they left the Hôtel de Ville, they were seen distributing money among the mob. The Duc d'Aumale defends Condé from this charge, though his arguments are not particularly convincing, and throws the blame on the gentlemen in attendance on Orléans, one of whom is said to have shouted to the mob: "Those gentlemen assembled in there refuse to do anything; it is for the people to advise them."

authority, and utterly discredited by its alliance with the rabble of the capital and the enemies of France, its days were numbered. The city officials and many members of the Parlement fled from Paris and proceeded to Pontoise, whither the Court had removed ; and the strange spectacle was presented of two Parlements—one in Paris, the other at Pontoise—each claiming to be the legal body, and annulling the other's decrees. The section which had remained in the capital passed a resolution declaring the King "the prisoner of the Cardinal Mazarin," and appointed Orléans Lieutenant-General of the kingdom, so long as that Minister remained in France. A Council of State was appointed, consisting of Condé, Beaufort, Nemours, and other nobles, with various members of the Parlement and representatives of the city, to act as Orléans's advisers and regulate public affairs ; but nowhere, except in Paris, was its authority recognised.

The formation of this council led to various disputes over precedence, and a fresh quarrel between Nemours and Beaufort, long bitterly antagonistic to one another. "M. de Nemours, who could not conceal the annoyance which the pretensions of M. de Beaufort occasioned him, raged against him and spoke of him in the most extravagant terms imaginable."¹ The latter expressed his opinion of his brother-in-law with equal freedom, and ultimately Nemours sent him a challenge to a duel. They met, on July 30, in a field near the Marché des Chevaux ; each was accom-

¹ Marigny to Lenet, July 12, 1652.

panied by four friends. Before the fight began, Beaufort remonstrated against the scandal of a duel between relatives, but the other was implacable. As Nemours had not yet recovered from the wounds he had received in the engagement of the Faubourg Saint-Antoine, it had been agreed that, while their seconds fought, according to the usual practice, with swords, the principals should use pistols. Nemours fired first, and missed, though his ball passed through his adversary's hair. Then, ignoring in his fury the arrangement that had been made, he laid his hand upon his sword and advanced towards Beaufort. The latter, who seems to have intended to spare his brother-in-law, cried out to him to desist; but Nemours, vowing that he would have his life, drew his sword and wounded his opponent in the hand. Beaufort then discharged his pistol, and Nemours fell dead, shot through the heart. He was only twenty-eight years of age. Of the eight seconds who took part in this deplorable affair, two were killed and one severely wounded.¹

The death of Nemours and the retirement of La Rochefoucauld to Damvilliers, in Lorraine, to seek rest at the house of his brother-in-law, the Marquis de Sillery, removed from Condé's side the only members of his party who wished for peace; and, though an honourable accommodation with the Court might still have been possible, he preferred to rely on the promise of Spanish aid, and to continue the war. Every

¹ Letter of the Abbé Viole to Lenet, July 31, 1652.

day, however, the Fronde was becoming more discredited and the desire for peace stronger; and the skilful self-effacement of Mazarin, who, on August 19, left Pontoise and retired into a second and voluntary exile at Bouillon, and afterwards at Sedan, removed the only pretext for continuing the war. Condé and Orléans now attempted to negotiate, but were informed that no proposal from them would be considered until they had laid down their arms, disbanded their troops, and renounced their alliance with Spain.

On August 26, the King, acting on the advice of Mazarin, proclaimed a general amnesty for all who had taken part in the events of the past eighteen months, and were willing to make their submission to the Crown. By the same decree, all edicts of the Parlement passed since February 1, 1651, which had reference to these internal troubles were annulled, including, of course, the various declarations against Mazarin. This judicious measure was the signal for the rout of the Fronde, and all classes united in their demand for the end of this miserable war and the return of the King to Paris.

In the first days of September, Spain having concluded an alliance with Charles IV. of Lorraine, an army of 12,000 men, composed partly of Spaniards and partly of the duke's own troops, advanced from Flanders and penetrated as far as the environs of Paris. If Condé had been able to take the field in person, it is possible that Turenne's army, which, at

the moment, was much inferior in numbers to that of the invaders, might have been crushed. But he was suffering from a severe attack of fever ; and, in his absence, the Duke of Lorraine, who never wished to expose his troops to the risk of a battle, confined his efforts to mercilessly ravaging the country, thus still further alienating public opinion from the Fronde.

At length, on October 13, Condé, disdaining to accept the amnesty, but finding his position in the capital no longer tenable, left Paris with the few troops which still remained faithful to him, joined the army of Lorraine, and departed for the Flemish frontier, where for seven years he commanded Spanish troops against his countrymen.

The way was now cleared for the return of the Court to Paris ; and, on October 21, Louis XIV. and Anne of Austria, with an imposing *cortège*, made their entry into the city, amid general rejoicings. It was soon seen that the King was resolved to reign with authority. On October 24—the very anniversary of the day on which it had wrung the Declaration of Saint-Germain from the Queen—the humbled Parlement registered a decree forbidding it hereafter to assume any control over general affairs of State, or to meddle with the direction of the public finances. Orléans was ordered to leave the city at once, under pain of arrest, and retired to Limours and thence to Blois, his career of turbulence, cowardice, and treachery ended for good and all. *Mademoiselle*, Beaufort, Rohan-Chabot, Broussel, and nine members of the

Parlement were likewise exiled. Retz kept out of the way for two months, when, believing himself protected by his dignity of cardinal and by the great influence he exercised over the people, he was indiscreet enough to visit the Louvre, where he was immediately arrested and shut up at Vincennes.

All obstacles to Mazarin's re-establishment were now removed, and on February 3, 1653, after taking part with Turenne, at the head of a body of troops raised at his own expense, in the siege of Bar-le-Duc and other places in Champagne, he returned to Paris. His return was a veritable triumph. Louis XIV., accompanied by his younger brother, the Duc d'Anjou, and the greatest nobles of the Court, met him at Bourget, insisted on his entering the royal coach, and brought him to the Louvre, where Anne of Austria was awaiting him. At night, bonfires lighted up the principal streets, and the same people who had so lately execrated his name now greeted it with shouts of applause. From that day until the hour of his death, he was to remain the absolute ruler of France.

CHAPTER XXIII

The Fronde at Bordeaux—Rupture between Madame de Longueville and the Prince de Conti—Painful position of the princess—Intrigues of Lenet against her—Successes of the Frondeurs in the field—Refusal of the Spaniards to co-operate with them in besieging Blaye—The Duc de Candale takes command of the royal troops, and drives Marsin back to the Garonne—The Great and Little Frondes at Bordeaux—The *Ormée*—Its organisation—Its leaders, Duretête and Villars—Madame de Longueville innocent of having encouraged its excesses—Conduct of Condé in regard to this faction—Anarchy at Bordeaux—Courage and presence of mind of Madame de Longueville and *Madame la Princesse*—Tyranny of the *Ormée* sustained by Condé—Madame de Longueville the object of abominable libels on the part of the Royalists—Condé appeals to Cromwell for assistance—English agents sent to Guienne—Conspiracies to deliver Bordeaux to the King's troops—Père Berthod and Père Ithier—Madame de Longueville saves the latter from execution—Trial and execution of the advocate Chevalier—Heroic conduct of Jacques Filhot—Bordeaux blockaded—Fresh negotiations with England—Treachery of Conti—Mazarin offers to permit the chiefs of the party of the princes to leave the city, and a general amnesty to the inhabitants—Madame de Longueville retires to Montreuil-Bellay, in Anjou—Submission of Bordeaux.

THE Fronde in Paris had perished miserably, but the Frondeurs of Bordeaux were still in arms. It will be remembered that when, at the end of March, 1652, Condé had set out on his adventurous ride to the Loire, he had left at Bordeaux his brother, the Prince de Conti, with the title of his lieutenant-general, assisted by a council composed of *Madame la*

Princesse, Madame de Longueville, Viole, Lenet, and the Comte de Marsin. Each member of this council had well-defined duties. *Madame la Princesse*, immensely popular with all classes at Bordeaux, was charged to keep alive that enthusiasm for the House of Condé which she had so well known how to excite in 1651 ; Viole was to maintain the Parlement in its fidelity to their cause ; Lenet was entrusted with the control of civil, financial, and diplomatic affairs ; Marsin combined the functions of Minister of War and Commander-in-chief ; while to Madame de Longueville fell the task of guiding her brother Conti, and preventing him from taking any important step contrary to the advice of his counsellors.

Had Condé's affairs prospered, this government would no doubt have proved capable of retaining its hold upon Bordeaux and the surrounding country, until such time as the prince was able to return and resume the direction of affairs ; but, in the face of the adverse intelligence from Paris, and in the absence of any assistance from the leader of their party, the task proved beyond its powers.

Although Condé informs his brother, in one of his letters, that he has "left him in entire control of all things beyond the Loire," he had, of course, intended that he should act only on the advice of his council, and particularly of Madame de Longueville. But the Prince de Conti soon began to evince a decided inclination to take these official words in a literal sense, and showed that he was but little

disposed to allow himself to be guided by his sister. That lady's influence over the young prince was, in fact, very far from what it had once been. For some four years after his sister's return from Münster, Conti had regarded her with a passionate affection almost amounting to idolatry, which he was at so little pains to conceal, that it appears to have afforded material for a good deal of ridicule, and not a little scandalous gossip. Madame de Longueville, on her side, though it is doubtful if she ever entertained for her younger brother any feeling which can compare with the deep affection she had felt from her girlhood for the elder, was not displeased at finding herself the object of an adoration which permitted her to dispose of so important a personage as a Prince of the Blood; and until the spring of 1651 she governed him absolutely. Then, however, came the rupture of the marriage arranged between Conti and Mlle. de Chevreuse, an incident due, in a great measure, to Madame de Longueville's desire to retain her influence over the young prince. The latter yielded to the representations of his relatives; but he had done so with considerable reluctance, and did not fail to resent the part his sister had taken in this discreditable affair. From that moment, the chivalrous devotion he had so long professed for her began to cool, and her power over him gradually waned. Seeing himself, at Bordeaux, free and all-powerful for the first time in his life, his vanity, his taste for pleasures of a far from unobjectionable kind,

and the flattery of those who always gather about a young prince and seek to profit by his inexperience—all urged him to shake off the tutelage of Madame de Longueville.

That princess, who was naturally indisposed to allow her brother to escape from her control at a moment when it was more than ever necessary that he should submit to her guidance, could not restrain her anger and mortification ; and, instead of seeking to win him back by those means which she knew so well how to employ, reproached him bitterly with his ingratitude towards herself, and with his private life, which was certainly anything but calculated to gain the esteem of those whom he had been appointed to govern, and accused him of being the dupe of the flatterers and parasites by whom he was surrounded. Conti warmly resented his sister's strictures, and soon the rupture between them was complete.

The young prince did not support with less impatience the counsels of Lenet and Marsin, who maintained an active correspondence with their absent master, and were accustomed to express themselves with considerable freedom when they considered that his official representative was not acting in accordance with the instructions they had received. The result was constant quarrels in the Council, a lamentable lack of firmness and consistency in the direction of affairs, and a general weakening of the central authority, both in the city and the province.

Madame de Longueville was a sad and embittered

woman in these days. On every side she saw her hopes disappointed, her ambitions thwarted. A year ago, she had loved, and had imagined herself beloved ; she had been the idol of a powerful party ; the chosen confidante and counsellor of one brother ; the guide, philosopher, and friend of the other ; the admiration of all Paris ; the terror of the Court. Now all was changed. The man to whom she had given her whole heart, and for whom she had made so many sacrifices, had harshly discarded her—nay, more—was doing his very utmost to misrepresent her motives and injure her reputation. Thanks to his malevolent insinuations, Condé no longer trusted her as he had formerly done, had disregarded her advice, and allowed his victorious sword to rust in its scabbard, while he plunged into a vortex of miserable intrigues, which could end only in disaster. Conti, hitherto so devoted, so docile, so ready to conform to her every wish, had shaken off the fetters which he had once deemed it a privilege to wear, and she saw him surrounded by a crowd of greedy sycophants and servile men of letters: Sarrasin,¹ Marigny, and Guilleragues, who flattered his vanity, pandered to his pleasures, and, to assure their own influence over his feeble and capricious mind, sought to widen the breach between him and his sister. Finally, the news from Paris grew

¹ Lenet tells us that it was Sarrasin who “arranged for him [Conti] an intrigue with the little Madame de Calvimont,” a lady of the town, whose foolishness, according to Daniel de Cosnac, was as astonishing as her beauty. This affair lasted throughout the war in Guienne, and even a little beyond it.

every day more disquieting, and it was no longer possible to conceal from herself that, in drawing Condé into civil war, she had brought him to his ruin.

The princess's position in the council was a difficult and an embarrassing one. Not only did Conti refuse to be guided by her advice, but her relations with Lenet were also strained. Whereas Madame de Longueville had never for a moment wavered in her belief that the only road to success lay in a vigorous prosecution of the war, and that no negotiations ought to be opened until they were in a position to dictate their own terms to the Court, Lenet had always been in favour of compromise. In June, 1652, he persuaded Condé to recall Viole, who shared Madame de Longueville's views, and became a party to the conspiracy formed by La Rochefoucauld and Madame de Châtillon in order to destroy the princess's influence over her brother, and induce the latter to treat with Mazarin. Lenet was too skilful and too prudent to join openly with the conspirators; but he secretly assisted them, informing them of all that was happening at Bordeaux, and, without openly attacking Madame de Longueville, he succeeded in arousing in his master's mind suspicions of his sister's loyalty and disinterestedness, which were not dissipated until they had worked irreparable mischief.

In the field, for a brief period, Fortune seemed to smile upon the Frondeurs of Guienne. Balthazar completely defeated a much superior force of Royalists,

under the Marquis de Montausier, Governor of Angoumois, at Montançais, and overran Périgord; and the rebellious conduct of the Comte d'Harcourt, the commander of the royal forces in the South, enabled them to secure further advances. This nobleman, who was already Governor of Alsace and of Philippsburg, was so exasperated at the refusal of the Court to confer upon him the government of Brissac, that he resolved to seize upon it. Leaving his army, which was besieging Villeneuve-d'Agen, without a general, he hastened to Alsace, reached Brissac, and was received as governor by the garrison, with whom he had been for some time past in communication. He did not, however, ally himself with Condé, but assumed the position of an independent prince, and proceeded to treat with both Mazarin and the Spaniards. Finally, some eighteen months later, he surrendered Brissac to the Cardinal, in return for a pension of 50,000 livres.

Demoralised by the abrupt departure of their leader, the Royalists were unable to prevent Marsin from throwing reinforcements into Villeneuve-d'Agen, the siege of which was shortly afterwards raised. Marsin then determined to lay siege to Blaye, the capture of which would have enabled him to command the course of the Gironde, and unite his forces with those of the Comte du Daugnon in Saintonge. But the Baron de Watteville, who commanded the Spanish garrison at Bourg, true to the policy of his Court, only to render assistance to the Frondeurs when they were on the

point of being overwhelmed, or when it perceived an opportunity of obtaining some considerable advantage for itself, declined to provide him with the troops and artillery necessary for the siege, except on the condition that Blaye, when captured, should be placed in his own hands. To this proposal Marsin refused to consent ; and, since, without the co-operation of the Spaniards, it would have been impossible to reduce the place, he was obliged to confine himself to taking a few small towns.

To replace Harcourt in command of the royal forces in Guienne, Mazarin selected the young Duc de Candale. Candale was the eldest son of the Duc d'Épernon, whose arrogance and tyranny had largely contributed to the insurrection at Bordeaux in 1651 ; and the Cardinal's choice was probably influenced by the desire that he entertained of securing the young duke as a husband for one of his nieces. The appointment, however, was by no means so injudicious as Mazarin's enemies declared. Candale, who was one of the handsomest men of his time, with "an admirable figure, blue eyes, a well-made nose, very beautiful teeth, and golden-blond hair in the greatest profusion possible to imagine,"¹ was a very different personage from his father, kindly, courteous, and tactful ; and Mazarin rightly judged that these qualities would go far to regain the good-will of those whom Épernon's conduct had alienated, and, combined with his popularity with all ranks of the army, atone for his lack

¹ Bussy-Rabutin, *Histoire amoureuses des Gaules*.

of military experience. Almost at the same time, he despatched the Duc de Vendôme, with a fleet, to the Gironde, to intercept all assistance which Bordeaux might hope to receive from that direction ; while, in the late autumn of 1653, the Comte d'Estrades, Maurice de Coligny's second in the memorable duel with the Duc de Guise, who had lately been compelled to surrender Dunkerque to the Spaniards after a brilliant defence, was sent to Agen, to assume the command of the government of that town and the surrounding country, and to co-operate with Candale. Thus ably seconded both by sea and land, and greatly superior in numbers to the enemy, Candale quickly recovered the places which Marsin had captured, and forced that general to fall back to the Garonne ; and by the end of the year, the whole of the province had returned to its allegiance to the Crown, with the exception of the capital, Bourg, and a few towns of small importance.

In the meanwhile, Bordeaux had become a prey to disorder, fast degenerating into anarchy, in which the excesses which had marked the Fronde in Paris were to be repeated and exaggerated. On all sides discord and confusion reigned : in the Council, in the Parlement, in the Hôtel de Ville, among the bourgeoisie, and among the populace.

When Condé arrived in Bordeaux, in September, 1651, he had been received, as we have seen, with general enthusiasm. Nevertheless, it would be a mistake to

suppose that, in so warmly espousing his cause, all classes were animated by the same motives, or were prepared to go to the same lengths in his support. His adherents, in fact, were divided into two factions. The first, which subsequently received the name of the "Little Fronde," comprised the greater part of the Parlement, the *Jurats*,¹ and the wealthier citizens, hostile in general to the Court and to Mazarin, but desirous of keeping the insurrectionary movement within bounds, and looking with marked disapproval on the negotiations which the prince had opened with Spain. The second, which was called the "Great Fronde," and was recruited from the lower middle-class and the populace, desired to carry on the war *à l'outrance*, and was quite ready to ally itself with Spain, England, or half Europe, for that matter. This party regarded the princes less as chiefs to follow, than as valuable allies to be utilised for the furtherance of its own ends. Republican views, fostered by recent events in England, found much favour in its ranks, particularly among the more advanced section, called, from its favourite place of assembly—a little terrace bordered by elms in the environs of the town—the *Ormée*.

While Condé remained in Guienne, his authority dominated and controlled the rival parties, but after his departure their common antagonism was unrestrained, and the *Ormée* began to assume a more definite form.

¹ The *Jurats* were six elected magistrates; three of whom retired from office at the end of each year.

Imitating the League or anticipating the Jacobins, it formed itself into a regular society ; it took for its arms an elm with a serpent coiled round it, and the devices : “ *Estote prudentes sicut serpentes*,” and “ *Vox populi, vox Dei* ;” it drew up a constitution, by which its members bound themselves to sacrifice life and property for the principles they had at heart ; it appointed magistrates and generals, levied troops, and launched decrees against those whom it suspected of hostility to the popular cause. Finally, it had a special tribunal called the “ *Chambre de l’Ormée*,” which passed sentences which were without appeal and were executed immediately.

Although composed only of some five hundred members, the society could reckon in an emergency on the support of over twelve thousand men. It had no recognised chief, but its two most influential members were Villars, an advocate, and Duretête, a retired butcher, who represented two different types of revolutionaries. The ex-butcher was a fanatic, ignorant and violent, but sincere ; the advocate, one of those fluent scoundrels who seek to turn revolutionary movements to their own profit, and who, while inciting their dupes to every kind of outrage, are ready to betray them without the slightest scruple.

La Rochefoucauld, among the charges which he brings against Madame de Longueville in his *Mémoires*, declares that she encouraged this terrible faction, which, in making Bordeaux a nightmare to all respectable citizens, ended by estranging them entirely from the

cause of the princes, in order to strengthen her own position and enhance her personal importance. This accusation, however, will not bear inspection. La Rochefoucauld, having apparently insinuated as much to *Monsieur le Prince*, the latter wrote to Lenet, instructing him to ascertain if there were any truth in this report. Lenet thereupon had an interview with the Prince de Conti and Madame de Longueville; and he relates that the latter shed tears at the mere suggestion of a suspicion that she could be acting contrary to her brother's interests.

As time went on, however, and the *Ormée* became practically masters of Bordeaux, Madame de Longueville, though she deplored its excesses and did what she could to restrain them, was compelled to maintain a good understanding with the society, since by that means alone could she retain possession of the city. In adopting this policy, however, it is necessary to bear in mind that she was simply carrying out the instructions of Condé. That prince, when first informed of the increasing antagonism between the two factions and the persecution with which the moderate party was threatened by the *Ormée*, had charged Lenet to do all in his power to protect it. "As for the division at Bordeaux," he writes, under date June 3, 1653, "I feel so much displeasure concerning it, that I beg you to employ yourself in bringing about the reunion of all minds, and particularly in preventing the members of the 'Little Fronde' from succumbing to the persecutions which are being directed against

it, since I have in its ranks my best friends, whom I cannot longer suffer to be attacked as they are by those of the 'Great Fronde' and by the *Ormée*. I do not wish to discourage the latter, but I desire that, out of their affection for me, they will refrain from proceeding to extremities." Lenet, who, while entirely faithful to his master, favoured, as we have seen, a reconciliation with the Court, would fain have leant entirely upon the more enlightened party of the magistracy and the Hôtel de Ville, and urged Condé to take a more decided course. But the prince refused, and recommended that, while protecting the "Little Fronde," he should take every precaution not to offend the *Ormistes*, "lest they come to accuse us of being 'Mazarins.'"¹

Condé, in fact, in politics as in war, thought only of victory, and pursued success with but little compunction as to the means he employed. To struggle simultaneously against the royal power and the popular power seemed to him the height of folly, and, as the power of the *Ormée* grew, he became less inclined to restrain the society, and more disposed to enter into closer relations with it. If by authority and persuasion it was impossible to hold it in check, he told Lenet, they must take its side. "Conduct our affairs," he writes, "in such manner that we shall be always in accord with the strongest party, whether it be the Great or Little Fronde, or the *Ormée*."²

Confident of the support of the populace, and

¹ Letter of June 9, 1652.

² Letter of August 26, 1652.

encouraged by the weakness of the Council, the *Ormée*, after endeavouring without success to dominate the Parlement, demanded the expulsion of several counsellors of moderate views, whom it accused of being "Mazarins." Terrified by its threats, or desirous of preserving the peace, the proscribed magistrates retired from the city ; but the wealthier classes, who were called, from the fashionable quarter of the town, the *Chapeau Rouge*, were determined not to submit to the tyranny of the mob. They organised themselves into a sort of aristocratic league ; and, during the night of June 9-10, there was some fighting in the streets. Next morning, both parties appeared in great force, and a sanguinary struggle had already begun, when Madame de Longueville and the Princesse de Condé rushed out of the archbishop's palace, in which they resided, and threw themselves between the rival factions. Their entreaties prevailed, and both sides agreed to lay down their arms.

A short respite followed, during which the exiled magistrates returned to the town, and were received by their friends with great enthusiasm. But, on June 23, the fighting was renewed, and the intervention of the princesses was again necessary to separate the combatants. The truce only lasted till the following day, when the *Chapeau Rouge* made a sudden and determined attack upon the *Ormée*, and sought to render themselves masters of the town. Entering her coach, and accompanied by Madame de Longueville, the Princesse de Condé had herself



*Tres-haute & Tres puissante princesse CLAIRE-
Clemence de Maille femme de Monseigneur Louis de
Bourbon Prince De Condé & Danguen
— Par tres haut — Par tres haut —*

From an engraving published by Moncornet.

CLAIRE CLÉMENCE DE MAILLÉ-BRÉZÉ, PRINCESSE DE CONDÉ.

driven to the battle-field ; and, for the third time, peace was restored. On this occasion, we read that *Madame la Princesse*, “*fort allumée de colère*,” vowed that, the next time there was a breach of the peace, she would, notwithstanding that she was with child,¹ place herself at the head of those who obeyed her, and cause the offenders to be cut to pieces.² Scarcely, however, had the two ladies returned to the archiepiscopal palace, when the *Ormée*, undismayed by this terrible threat, stormed the Hôtel de Ville and held it throughout the night. In the morning, flushed with success, they marched in great force upon the Quartier de Chapeau Rouge, and attacked the house of a certain M. Pichon, a president of the Parlement, who appears to have been the object of their peculiar animosity. Unhappily for them, M. Pichon had received warning of their intentions, and had taken the precaution to convert his residence into a kind of fortress, from which a withering fire of musketry was opened on the besiegers, of whom more than fifty were killed. Exasperated by their losses, the mob proceeded to storm and set fire to the neighbouring houses ; reinforcements came up rapidly on both sides, and it seemed as if the whole city would be delivered up to fire and blood. So fierce was the fighting that it seemed hopeless for the princesses to intervene ; but at length they bethought

¹ On the night of September 19-20, 1652, the Princesse de Condé gave birth to a son, to whom Madame de Longueville stood godmother. The little prince, who was baptized Louis de Bordeaux, and received the title of Duc de Bourbon, only lived a few weeks.

² Lenet, *Mémoires*.

themselves of a happy expedient. Hastening to the curé of the Church of Saint-Messan, they ordered him to accompany them to the scene of the fray, bearing the Holy Sacrament, preceded by the cross and candles. The *cortège* advanced into the very midst of the combatants, who desisted, vanquished once more by the courage and presence of mind of these young women.

So heavy had been the losses of the moderate party on this day, that they were incapable of any further resistance ; many of their leaders, fearing the vengeance of their victorious foes, quitted the town, and the *Ormistes* remained masters of the situation. The Council, weakened by its own dissensions and hampered by the orders of Condé, made but feeble efforts to check their tyranny, and soon the government of the city passed, to all intents and purposes, into their hands.

After the return of the King to Paris at the end of October, 1652, there was a general desire among the better classes of Bordeaux to accept the amnesty which had been proclaimed. But the chiefs of the *Ormée* informed the Parlement that they must not register the royal declaration until it had ascertained whether such a step had the approval of *Monsieur le Prince*. Condé, as may be supposed, did not fail to declare that Mazarin's departure from the kingdom was merely a ruse, that before long he would reappear at the head of affairs, and that in reality the situation was unchanged. As the Parlement still showed itself

desirous of taking advantage of the King's clemency, the greater number of the royalist members were driven from the town, and established themselves at Agen, just as the loyal portion of the Parlement of Paris had transferred itself to Pontoise. From that moment, the "Little Fronde" deserted the princes and united with that section of the population which had throughout remained faithful to the Crown ; while the supporters of Condé were practically confined to the *Ormée* and the rabble which it controlled. The two parties, however, were of very unequal strength : the one, numerous, it is true, but timid and irresolute, without any recognised leaders or any common action ; the other, energetic, audacious, and admirably organised.

Condé now resolved to lean entirely upon the *Ormée* ; he entered into direct correspondence with the demagogue Villars, advising him to moderate the violence of his attacks on the opposite party, but praising his zeal, and signing himself : "Your best friend ;" and he instructed his representatives at Bordeaux to co-operate with the society. Since, however, he still cherished the hope of one day returning triumphant to Guienne, when he proposed to suppress the *Ormée*, re-establish the Parlement, and rely for his support upon the better classes, he was unwilling to compromise himself with the latter ; and we therefore find him, with a meanness which is difficult to excuse, even on the ground of policy, directing Lenet to allow no order of his to appear, so that all the

excesses of the *Ormée* might be attributed to the complacency of his brother and sister. "As, when peace is made," he writes, "I should naturally desire the counsellors to be re-established in their offices, and the Parlement in their authority, it would be very convenient if the violence which ought to be used towards the Parlement as a body, and towards the individual members which compose it, could be attributed to the Prince de Conti or to Madame de Longueville ; and that, for that reason, no order of mine should appear, in order that one day the dissensions of the past may be the more easily forgotten."

Lenet did not hesitate to conform to his master's instructions ; and, in consequence, all the odium of the violent scenes which continued to disgrace the city down to the time of its surrender to the royal troops fell upon Conti and Madame de Longueville, who was still commonly believed to govern her brother, and whose firmness of character and uncompromising opposition to peace marked her out for the reprisals of the royalist party. These took the form of libellous and obscene placards, attacking her in the most shameful manner where she was most vulnerable, which were posted up nightly in the most populous streets of the city. In vain did the unfortunate princess endeavour to suppress these abominable libels ; each day they were torn down and burned by the hangman, but each night saw them renewed ; and cruelly did she expiate her frailty. "Such insolent and infamous placards against the Prince de Conti and Madame de Longue-

ville have been posted up to-night," writes Lenet to Condé, "that there is no man, however ill-intentioned he may be, who could fail to be horrified by them ; they are to be burned by the hangman's hands." And again : "The horrible libel against the Prince de Conti and Madame de Longueville, of which I spoke to your Highness by the last courier, has been burned by the hangman's hands. That has not prevented the appearance of a worse one, which came from the same shop, and has had the same fate."¹

Not content with giving himself entirely to Spain, Condé had for some time past been treating with England. The feeling in that country was, at this period, very hostile to France. The French Government had persistently refused to recognise the Commonwealth, and had given an asylum to the widowed Queen of England and her children ; and it was on French soil that the Prince of Wales was weaving his interminable plots for the recovery of his throne.

¹ Letters of December 9 and December 12, 1653. Victor Cousin has published two letters of Madame de Longueville addressed to Lenet, which prove how sensitive she was to these attacks :

"I beg you to get back as many of these placards as you can, and to burn them, for they contain certain absurdities which I am very anxious should not reach Paris. I charge you with it. Render me a satisfactory account of this matter."

"I am told that to-night the placards have again been put up. I doubt not that you are aware of it ; and I do not write to you to acquaint you with it, but to tell you that I consider it most essential that every effort should be made to discover and punish the perpetrators of this outrage. I beg you to contrive means for doing this, and to give orders to the persons you consider most suitable for executing this undertaking."

Moreover, there was a good deal of irritation in England, owing to the frequent depredations committed on her commerce by privateers sailing under French letters of marque, a feeling which culminated in September, 1652, by the English fleet attacking and capturing the French ships which were proceeding to the relief of Dunkerque. Condé therefore believed that his overtures were likely to be favourably received by Cromwell; and, at the beginning of October, 1651, he despatched an agent named La Rivière, to ask the Protector for £100,000 and 10,000 men. Cromwell derisively replied that he would come in person with 40,000 foot and 12,000 horse, if he could be assured that at the end of the struggle France would be a Protestant republic, but that otherwise he declined to interfere; and La Rivière returned to his master without having accomplished anything.

However, early in January, 1652, Condé sent two other agents named Cugnac and Barrière to London, together with a M. de Saint-Thomas, who was to request permission from Cromwell to recruit soldiers in Ireland. This permission was readily accorded, and the Irish regiments rendered good service, so long as their pay was forthcoming; but Cugnac and Barrière received scant encouragement. "They come," said Cromwell, "to treat with me on the prince's behalf. What! does he mean to destroy the monarchy, or what is it that he has in his mind? He must promise liberty to the Huguenots, and give us a considerable

seaport as security, and other things, before he has a man from us.”¹

Cromwell, nevertheless, thinking it advisable to ascertain the real strength and feeling of the Protestants in the South of France, despatched thither several agents. The chief of these, Sexby, the Agitator of 1647, and, subsequently, notorious as the author of the pamphlet, “Killing no Murder,” went to Bordeaux and entered into very intimate relations with the *Ormée*. Recognising among them kindred spirits, he drew up a manifesto demanding for France a constitution, “which he copied,” says Gardiner, “with such changes as were necessary from the first twenty-two articles of Lilburne’s latest edition of the ‘Agreement of the People.’” A parliament chosen annually by all except servants and those living on alms; trial by jury; abolition of imprisonment for debt; free trade with England; the strict observance of Sunday; and penalties for profanity, drunkenness, and lewdness, were among the changes demanded by this extraordinary document. Joined to it was a declaration, which contained many of the philosophical phrases as to the nature of government which were then common in England among the more advanced republicans.

Such language and such designs terrified Lenet, who hastened to denounce them to Condé; but that prince had long since thrown all scruples to the winds, and was ready to lend himself to any scheme, however extravagant, which might prevent Bordeaux from

¹ Gardiner, “History of the Commonwealth and Protectorate.”

accepting the amnesty, and bring the desired assistance from England. "To tell you my sentiments about this cabal of the Huguenots," he writes, "which, you tell me, must tend directly to a republic, I think it is not the worst party, and, in my opinion, it is better to support it, without rendering it predominant, than to discourage it; for it is certain that it will not attain its ends, and, by preserving the idea of a republic, the others will be prevented from accepting the amnesty and demanding peace."¹

The disorders at Bordeaux grew daily worse. "Anarchy is increasing; we are only living by a miracle," wrote Lenet, on December 24, 1652. And soon conspiracies came to inflame the ferocity of the *Ormée*.

In the last days of 1652, a Franciscan monk, one Père Berthod, arrived in the city from Paris. He had formerly been a member of the convent of his Order at Bordeaux, and he gave as the reason of his visit the desire of re-establishing his health, which had suffered somewhat from his labours in the capital. Now these labours had of late been of a political, rather than of an evangelical, character, the good Father having taken a very active part in promoting the submission of Paris; and he had been sent to Bordeaux to play a similar rôle. No sooner had he arrived, than he drew aside Père Ithier, the prior of the Franciscan convent, and handed him a letter from the Queen acquainting him

¹ Letter of March 10, 1633, *Mémoires de Lenet*.

with the nature of Père Berthod's mission, and bidding him render her every assistance in his power. This the prior, a staunch royalist at heart, as were nearly all the clergy of Bordeaux, readily promised, and put him into communication with several prominent citizens who were of a like way of thinking. However, the very next day, the mystery of Père Berthod's journey was revealed to Conti, by a letter from one of his partisans in Paris. The prince thereupon sent for the monk and ordered him to confess the truth, promising that, if he would do so, he would protect him from the vengeance of the *Ormée*. Berthod, while admitting that he was in the confidence of the Court, protested that the object of his mission had been misrepresented, and that he came as a mediator, and not as a conspirator; and he succeeded in convincing Conti that he spoke the truth. Lenet, who still cherished the hope of an accommodation with the Government, thought that he had found in Berthod the man who could assist him to secure it; and he accordingly charged him to write to the Court declaring that "every one at Bordeaux was against it and in favour of *Monsieur le Prince*, that he was invincible, and that it was most necessary to treat with him."¹ The monk did as he was desired; but in secret he sent very different advice to Paris, until, about a month later, believing that his double game was on the point of being detected, he made his escape and took refuge with the Duc de Saint-Simon,

¹ Père Berthod, *Mémoires*.

at Blaye. Conti and Lenet put a price upon his head, and his portrait was posted up all over the town. But Père Berthod was as courageous as he was astute ; and, at the beginning of March, 1653, having in the interval paid a visit to Paris, to confer with Mazarin and the Queen, he returned to Bordeaux, this time in disguise, and resumed his intrigues. He again had recourse to the good offices of Père Ithier, who, since he was much esteemed by Conti and Madame de Longueville, and was also an intimate friend of Lenet, had experienced little difficulty in convincing the Council that he had had no part in his colleague's machinations ; and very soon a formidable conspiracy was set on foot.

Near the Franciscan convent stood that of the "*Petites Carmélites*,"¹ with whose prioress, Mère Angelique, Père Ithier was on friendly terms. In this convent the *Ormiste* leader Villars had a sister, to whom he was much attached, and whom he frequently visited. In the course of these visits, he had confessed that he was weary of the life he was leading and disgusted with his associates ; and his words were duly reported by his sister to her superior, and by her to Père Ithier. Through the instrumentality of the nuns, a regular treaty was concluded between the two Franciscans and Villars, whereby, in consideration of the sum of 30,000 écus and the office of syndic, when the King's authority had been re-established,

¹ There were at this period at Bordeaux two convents of the Carmelites, situated at opposite extremities of the town.

the latter undertook to engineer a popular movement which would throw open the gates to the royal troops. The night of March 23 was fixed for the attempt, and everything seemed to indicate success, when suddenly the rascally demagogue's courage failed him, and he revealed everything to Conti. Berthod again succeeded in effecting his escape, disguised as a soldier; but Père Ithier was arrested, and, in fear of torture, made a full confession and disclosed the names of his accomplices.

The fury of the *Ormée* knew no bounds. The houses of the conspirators were sacked by the mob, and they themselves thrown into prison; Père Ithier's father, an old man of seventy, was put to the *question* and so cruelly tortured that he nearly died; and the Franciscans were driven from the city. Thanks, however, to the intervention of Madame de Longueville, no steps were taken against the Carmelites, and their names did not even appear in the *procès-verbal*. As for Père Ithier, he was brought to trial before the tribunal of the *Ormée*, "composed of cobblers, pastry-cooks, and apothecaries," when all the judges were unanimous in condemning him to death, though they were unable to agree as to the manner in which the sentence should be executed. Happily, Madame de Longueville resolved to save him; and, through her efforts, it was decided that, as he was a person of importance, he should be tried before a special commission, presided over by Marsin, which contented itself by condemning the accused to make the *amende*

honorable, and to imprisonment for life, in a dungeon, on a diet of bread and water.

This comparatively light sentence greatly enraged the populace, who thirsted for the unfortunate Father's blood ; an infuriated mob attacked the cart in which he was being conveyed to prison, and, but for the efforts of the soldiers that escorted it, would have dragged him from it and torn him to pieces. The whole town was in an uproar, and it was only with great difficulty that an insurrection against the authority of the Council was prevented. "See, Madame, the result of your fine counsels," said Lenet to Madame de Longueville. "If this monk had had his throat cut or been hanged, we should not be in these straits." An involuntary homage, observes Victor Cousin, to the princess's kindness of heart.

Undismayed by the example of Père Ithier, the Royalists of Bordeaux multiplied their plots. The scoundrelly Villars, who, to efface the unfavourable impression which his conduct in the recent affair had created among his associates, now displayed the utmost zeal in hunting down suspected persons, arrested an advocate named Chevalier, upon whose person several "treasonable" documents were discovered. He was tried by the tribunal of the *Ormée*, and condemned to death. He asked for a priest, but this request was refused, unless he would consent to make his confession in public ; and he was hanged the same day upon the gibbet of the Hôtel de Ville.

Jacques Filhot, a retired officer of the army, and

an official of the Treasury at Montauban, entered into a conspiracy with Dussault, a counsellor of the Parlement, the Marquis de Théobon, and some others to seize one of the gates of the town and admit Candale's troops. On the very night fixed for the attempt, the plot was discovered. Orders were given to take Filhot, alive or dead ; but he took refuge in his house, armed his servants and friends, and prepared for a desperate defence. The *Ormistes*, mindful of the losses they had sustained in the attack on the Président Pichon's house in the previous June, dared not attempt to force an entrance, but sent for wood and straw to burn it down. Fearing for the safety of his wife and children, Filhot then ordered the doors to be opened, and the mob rushed in with shouts of triumph. Their quarry, however, had barricaded himself in one of the rooms, and was determined to die sword in hand. Hearing, however, the mob threatening his wife and children, he feared that they would be the victims of his resistance, and, to save them, gave himself up. He was taken before Duretête and other *Ormiste* leaders, who promised to pardon him, if he would betray his accomplices. He declined, and was ordered to be put to the *question*. The hall of the Hôtel de Ville was filled with armed ruffians, awaiting Filhot's expected confession to rush forth and arrest the persons he should mention ; but, though he was tortured for four whole hours in the most barbarous fashion, his firmness was unshaken. Thanks to the devoted care of his wife, he eventually

recovered, though he remained a cripple for the rest of his days. Seven years later, when Louis XIV. visited Bordeaux, he desired to see Filhot, and inquired whether the wounds he had received as a martyr for his king still troubled him. "Sire," replied the old hero, "every time I see your Majesty, they become more dear to me."¹

But the end of the Fronde at Bordeaux was now approaching. Du Daugnon, convinced that Condé's cause was hopeless, decided to make terms with the Court; and, in return for a sum of 500,000 livres, a dukedom, and the bâton of marshal, he surrendered his governments and his ships to the King, and retired into private life. The inaction of the Spanish fleet and the feebleness of Don José Osorio,² who had succeeded Watteville in the command of the garrison of Bourg, resulted in the loss of that stronghold, and opened the Gironde to the royal ships. One after another the neighbouring towns capitulated, and Vendôme and Candale, combining their operations, drove the army of the princes within the walls of Bordeaux, which was soon closely blockaded.

¹ On his return to France, after the Peace of the Pyrenees, Condé wrote to Filhot with his own hand to express his grief for the sufferings he had involuntarily caused him, and his admiration for his heroism, and to offer him his friendship and a pension of 1,000 écus. Filhot gratefully accepted the prince's friendship, but declined the pension. The State proved itself far less generous than Condé, and the only recognition which Filhot received from it was a pension of 1,800 livres, with remainder to his children, and permission to add a silver *fleur-de-lys* to his arms, which was equivalent to a patent of nobility.

² On his return to Spain, Osorio was brought to trial for pusillanimity and corruption, found guilty, and beheaded.

One hope alone remained—assistance from England. On April 4, at a meeting held at the Hôtel de Ville, it had been resolved to send delegates from the city to ask help from Cromwell ; and three representatives had been despatched to co-operate with Condé's envoys in London. The advantages offered were free trade with Guienne, and a port on the Gironde, which England might fortify and use as a base for offensive operations against Blaye and La Rochelle ; while hopes were held out that the arrival of an English fleet and army would be the signal for a widespread rising of the Huguenots of the South in their favour. Cromwell, who was by this time well aware, from the reports furnished by his agents in the South of France, that, although the Protestants in some parts of the country had grave cause for complaint, there was certainly no disposition among them to call in foreign aid to remedy their grievances, contented himself with some vague assurances of sympathy ; but, at the beginning of July, Trancas, one of the envoys from Bordeaux, wrote that Cromwell was willing to furnish assistance, and to drive the King's troops from the whole of Guienne, if Bordeaux itself were put into his hands.

Whether Cromwell was really sincere in making this offer, is doubtful ; in all probability he merely encouraged the hopes of the insurgents in Guienne for the purpose of intimidating the French Government, and obtaining the expulsion of the Stuarts and other concessions from Mazarin ; but it is certain that his

proposal was taken very seriously at Bordeaux. Marsin, whose treason in Catalonia meant the scaffold if he fell into the hands of the royal troops, was eager to embrace this unlooked-for chance of salvation, as were the leaders of the *Ormée*; while Madame de Longueville, *Madame la Princesse*, and Lenet also appear to have favoured it. Conti, however, with whom the final decision lay, found himself in a very embarrassing position.

A shrewd Gascon abbé, Daniel de Cosnac, who afterwards became Bishop of Valence, and eventually Archbishop of Aix, filled at this time the post of Condé's almoner, and had succeeded in acquiring considerable influence over his master's mind. Cosnac had never encouraged the prince in his irregularities, nor had he taken any part in fomenting the quarrel between him and Madame de Longueville; but he had no scruples about using him to further his own ambitions. Recognising, after the submission of Paris, that the Fronde was doomed, and that he had nothing to hope for from that quarter, the abbé determined to secure for himself the favour of the Court, by bringing about a reconciliation between it and Conti. With this object, he enlisted the services of the Marquis de Chouppes, a former officer of Condé, who had joined with his regiment the party of the princes, but, through jealousy of Marsin, was now anxious to abandon it and make his peace with the Court. On the advice of Cosnac, Conti entrusted the marquis with a mission to Spain, to ask for the

immediate despatch of further assistance to Bordeaux. But Chouppes, by arrangement with his confederate, conducted the affair in such a way that he failed to obtain anything; and, on his return, assured Conti that it was absolutely futile to place any reliance on the promises of Spain. "This blow," writes Cosnac, "which I administered skilfully enough not to arouse any suspicion, is certainly what contributed most to the Peace of Bordeaux." In the meanwhile, there had been fresh disorders in the city, during which Conti himself had been in some danger; a circumstance which served to disgust the prince still further with a position of which he had long grown weary, and added weight to Cosnac's counsels. He now represented to Conti that the cause of the Fronde was lost, and that, if he persisted in supporting it to the bitter end, he would be irretrievably ruined; and strongly urged him to make terms with the Court. The feeble prince did not require much persuasion; and, at the beginning of 1653, he permitted negotiations on his part to be opened with the Duc de Candale. Terms were soon arranged; and Conti, in return for a promise that his estates should be restored to him, agreed to abandon his brother's cause and Bordeaux, so soon as he could safely do so.

Both Conti and Cosnac took every precaution to conceal their treachery from the Council, and particularly from Madame de Longueville, whose fidelity the abbé confesses that it would have been useless for them to attempt to overcome. "Madame de Longueville,"

he writes, "was so attached to the interests of *Monsieur le Prince*, that she would never have consented to any treaty of peace in which he did not participate." They were also very careful to avoid exciting the suspicions of the *Ormée*, from whose fury nothing would have been able to protect them ; and, the better to disguise their intentions, Conti pretended to redouble his zeal in the public cause, concluded a formal alliance with the *Ormée*, presided at the trial of those detected in plots to deliver Bordeaux to the King, and signed instructions to the envoys which the town despatched to England. But, as we have mentioned, he found himself in a very embarrassing position when news came from England that Cromwell was prepared to send assistance, if Bordeaux were surrendered to him. Cosnac assures us that his feeble and capricious master, intimidated by Marsin and the *Ormée*, and perhaps inclined to believe that, with English aid, the Fronde might yet succeed in emerging triumphant from the struggle, was for the moment tempted to authorise Cromwell's intervention ; and he pretends that it was his remonstrances alone which prevented him taking this step, and induced him to place himself at the head of the party which favoured peace.

The submission of the city was now inevitable, and it was facilitated by Mazarin's wise moderation. It was never the Cardinal's policy to pursue his enemies *à l'outrance* ; he preferred to disarm them by conceding reasonable terms, rather than to ex-

terminate them ; and he now offered what was, to all intents and purposes, a complete amnesty. The chiefs of the party of the princes were to be free to depart whither they pleased, and no steps were to be taken against the Bordelais, with the exception of Villars, Duretête, and the envoys who had been despatched to England. The Government also reserved to itself the right of rebuilding the two fortresses of Trompette and Hô, which had been demolished by the insurgents.

The great majority of the citizens, weary of disorder and bloodshed, had long been eager for peace, though, during the last few months, the terrorism exercised by the *Ormée* had reduced them to silence. Now, however, they took heart of grace once more ; the cry of "*Vive le roi et la paix !*" began to be heard in the streets ; and public meetings were held, and resolutions carried in favour of surrendering the town. The Council was in accord with public opinion. Conti, as we have seen, had already been gained over ; and, though the fidelity of Madame de Longueville, *Madame la Princesse*, Marsin, and Lenet was inviolable, they were compelled to recognise the futility of further resistance. Bordeaux was hemmed in on every side ; provisions were becoming scarce,¹ and the Spanish fleet, still hovering at the mouth of the Gironde, obstinately refused to make the slightest

¹ Writing to Condé, under date July 29, 1653, Lenet declares that the city had held out "to the last morsel of bread ;" but this was mere hyperbole,

attempt to break the blockade. Their last scruples were removed, when a message arrived from Condé, authorising the Council to surrender the town, if Marsin's troops were not disbanded and were permitted to join him at Stenai. After some demur, this condition was accepted by Mazarin, and the only difficulty in the way of submission removed.

On July 19, Conti met a great assembly of the citizens, and declared himself in favour of peace. On the 20th, all those who had been imprisoned by the *Ormée* were set at liberty, including Père Ithier and Filhot. Four days later, the capitulation was signed by Conti and the other members of the Council, all of whom shortly afterwards left the city and went their several ways. *Madame la Princesse*, the little Duc d'Enghien, and Lenet set out for Flanders to join Condé. Marsin, after offering his sword to Philip IV. and subsequently to Cromwell, returned to the service of *Monsieur le Prince*. Conti withdrew to his estate at La Grange, near Pézénas, in Languedoc, whither the fascinating Madame de Calvimont had preceded him; but, in the following year, terminated his amorous adventures by espousing Mazarin's niece, the beautiful and virtuous Anne Marie Martinozzi. As for Madame de Longueville, she seems for a moment to have entertained the idea of accompanying her sister-in-law to Flanders; but, recognising that, crippled as were her resources, she would be rather a burden than an assistance to her brother in his exile, and utterly wearied and disheartened by the events of the past

two years, she finally requested and obtained permission from the Court to retire to a country-house belonging to her husband at Montreuil-Bellay, in Anjou.

On August 3, the Ducs de Candale and de Vendôme entered Bordeaux in triumph. The red flag, the detestable symbol of the excesses of the *Ormée*, as it was later of those of the Jacobins and the Communists, had been removed from the belfry of Saint Michel, and replaced by the white banner of France ; and, amid loyal acclamations, the two dukes, accompanied by a magnificent suite, rode through the streets to the metropolitan church of Saint-André, where the *Te Deum* was sung, and Père Ithier, who seems to have been little the worse for his four months of bread and water, preached an eloquent sermon in honour of the peace.¹ The amnesty was religiously observed. Of the five who had been excepted from it, the envoys remained in England, and so escaped punishment ; while Villars was smuggled out of the town by Conti, among his baggage and servants. Duretête was less fortunate, and paid for all. He attempted to escape, concealed in a hay-cart, but was detected, arrested, and condemned to be broken on the wheel. The sentence was executed on the very terrace from which the *Ormée* took its name, and where his incitements to violence and outrage had been so often applauded ; and his body was afterwards quartered and placed on

¹ Not long afterwards, Père Ithier was rewarded for his sufferings in the royal cause by being appointed Bishop of Glandèves.

the gates of the city as a warning to others. The two fortresses of Trompette and Hô were rebuilt and made so strong as to check any further turbulence ; the Comte d'Estrades was appointed perpetual Mayor of Bordeaux ; the Duc d'Épernon re-established in the government of Guienne ; and both town and province became as loyal and peaceable as the rest of France.

CHAPTER XXIV

Position of Madame de Longueville after the surrender of Bordeaux—Misery caused by the Fronde—The princess goes to visit her aunt, the Duchesse de Montmorency, at the Couvent de la Visitation, at Moulins—Her account of her conversion—Letter of the Duchesse de Montmorency to the Duc de Longueville, concerning his wife's conduct at the convent—Madame de Longueville's grief at Condé's condemnation for high treason—She is reconciled to her husband, and is permitted to return to Normandy—Her piety and benevolence—Letter to Condé—Extravagant austerities imposed upon her by her confessor—She is visited by the Princess Palatine—Her friendship with Mlle. de Vertus—She renews her intimacy with Madame de Sablé—Madame de Sablé's life at Port-Royal—Her influence on French literature—Her share in the *Maximes* of La Rochefoucauld—Correspondence of Madame de Longueville with Madame de Sablé—Views of the princess with regard to the theatre—Her friendship with the Princesse de Conti—She humours Madame de Sablé's foibles—Return of Condé to France.

NOW began for Madame de Longueville a life very different from the one of intrigue and adventure which she had led during the past five years. Irksome as had been her condition at Bordeaux, it had at least had the advantage of preventing her from dwelling upon her misfortunes. But in the lonely château at Montreuil-Bellay, separated from all her relatives and friends, and condemned to the, to her, intolerable monotony of country life, she had ample time for reflection. And her reflections must have been indeed bitter. From

the idolized heroine of a great and successful party, she had become the discredited adventuress of a crushed and beaten one ; she had lost everything : her personal property, even to her jewellery, her self-respect, her peace of mind ; she had ruined her elder brother ; and, worst of all, had brought untold misery upon her country.

Sympathetic biographers, while deploring the misfortunes which Madame de Longueville's misplaced ambitions had brought upon her family and friends, have touched but lightly upon the terrible misery and disaster for which she must be held, in a large measure, responsible. The devastation wrought by the Fronde is almost incredible. "These La Rochefoucaulds, these Condés, at the head of their barons, were, for the time, brigands of the high-road."¹ Whole districts were laid waste : the crops destroyed, the sheep and cattle carried off, the villages plundered and burned ; men were murdered and tortured, and women outraged. Many who had been accounted men of substance thought themselves fortunate if they could find bread for their families and straw to lie upon ; thousands of the wretched peasants were reduced to living on roots and spoiled fruit, and vast numbers perished of starvation.² In the town of Laon, in 1652, between two and three thousand persons were constantly asking for relief ; in the following year, there were said to be

¹ M. Bourdeau, *La Rochefoucauld*.

² During the winter of 1650-1651, as many as two hundred persons are said to have died of hunger every day in the provinces of Picardy and Champagne.

over six hundred orphans under twelve in the town. At Marle, in 1651, more than one hundred houses in the faubourgs were burned to the ground. In the faubourgs of Saint-Quentin, there was scarcely a house left standing, and their former inmates were living, crowded together, in mud huts. Much the same state of things prevailed in Guienne, Saintonge, Angoumois, Berry, Touraine, and several other provinces.

The noble efforts subsequently made by Madame de Longueville to atone, so far as lay within her power, for the calamities to which she had so largely contributed, proves that she fully appreciated her responsibility, and that it occasioned her the keenest remorse.

Still unwavering in her fidelity to Condé, the princess was resolved to ask no favours of the Court, until her brother had made his peace with the King. And she continued to proclaim her devotion to his cause. "I think," she writes to Lenet, "that he [Condé] has been informed of the line of conduct I have followed since my departure from Bordeaux, and that he is aware that I have not sent to the Court to ask for the amnesty. Thus, it has not been granted to me, notwithstanding all that M. de Longueville has done. He informs me that it is necessary, in his interests, that I should write to the Court—that is to say, to the King, the Queen, and the Cardinal ; but, since I desire to do my duty to the end, and retain the good fortune I have had of not being suspected, even by my enemies, of having failed therein, I have

written to M. de Longueville, to beg him to approve of my not sending one of my people to the Court, as I desire nothing of them, so long as my brother remains in his present condition.”¹

Early in the following year, Madame de Longueville received permission from the King to leave Montreuil-Bellay and take up her residence at the Couvent de la Visitation, at Moulins, with her aunt, Maria Felicia Orsini, widow of Henri II., Duc de Montmorency, whose tragic death had made such a profound impression upon her as a girl of thirteen, and had confirmed her in her desire to enter the Carmelites. Ever since that time, the widowed duchess had led a life of the most fervent piety in the Couvent de la Visitation, of which she had become Superior, and was regarded as “one of the most perfect models of all the virtues.”² She welcomed her niece with the utmost affection and sympathy, and her gentle influence and admirable example were not without effect. The early religious impressions which Madame de Longueville had received among the Carmelites of the Rue Saint-Jacques had, as we have seen, been too profound ever to be wholly extinguished, and, amid the favourable surroundings in which she now found herself, they speedily began to revive.

In a general self-examination written by her in November, 1651, at the request of her confessor, Antoine Singlin, the princess has herself related how

¹ Letter of October 25, 1653.

² Bourgoing de Villefore,

the light came to her weary soul, while reading some religious work, the name of which she does not tell us. "It seemed to me," she writes, "as though a curtain were drawn from before the eyes of my mind ; all the charms of the truth, united under a single object, presented themselves before me. Faith, which had appeared as though dead and buried beneath my passions, was renewed. I found myself like unto a person who, after a profound sleep, wherein she had dreamed that she was great, happy, honoured, and esteemed by all the world, suddenly awakes to discover herself loaded with chains, pierced with wounds, overcome with weakness, and shut up in a gloomy prison."¹

From that day—the anniversary of which she never failed to observe—down to the time of her death, she appears to have resolved to renounce the world, to surrender every ambition and every pleasure, and to consecrate the rest of her life to her duties as a wife and mother, to good works and to the most austere piety ; and in this resolution she never for a moment wavered.

Notwithstanding the pious and exemplary life which Madame de Longueville led at Moulins, slander seems to have been busy with her name ; and towards the end of April, 1654, we find the Duchesse de Montmorency addressing the following letter to M. de Longueville, to contradict certain injurious reports which were being circulated about his wife.

¹ *Supplément au Nécrologe de Port-Royal* (Paris, 1735).

THE DUCHESSE DE MONTMORENCY TO THE DUC
DE LONGUEVILLE.

"MOULINS, LE COUVENT DE LA VISITATION,
"22 *April*, 1654.

"I am informed by the Duchesse de Longueville that, notwithstanding the wise and prudent conduct that she has adopted, people do not fail to tax her with carrying on intrigues and receiving visits. . . . As for the first, I have not perceived that she has broken her promise to me. As for the visits which she ought not to receive, she has received none; and also with regard to the others, she goes so seldom to the parlour, that I may assert, without fear of telling an untruth, that she goes there scarcely at all, and, on the rare occasions when she does, it is at hours when every one may see who comes there. We have no parlour which is not open to all who wish to enter. . . . I believe myself obliged to say what I know about the matter. I should wish, also, to be able to speak of the good actions of her Highness, and how much I admire them; but there are things which words impair. . . . If one were to say that she follows almost all the exercises of religion, one would speak more truthfully, and thereby one might find that very little time remains for the parlour, to which she only makes up her mind to go with difficulty . . . and, since she has been here, no persons of consideration have visited it; so that I do not know what foundation there is for this talk, which



*Marie Felice des Ursins Duchesse de Montmorancy
qui après la mort du Duc son Mary se retira dans
le Monastere de la Visitation de Moulins 3^e de
l'ordre, dont elle est Fondatrice, et ou elle est morte.
Superieure le 5^e Juin 1666, âgée de 66 ans.*

P. Van Schuppen fecit.

From an engraving by Van Schuppen.

MARIA FELICIA ORSINI, DUCHESSE DE MONTMORENCY.

has greatly surprised me, who am a witness to the contrary. If it were necessary to vouch with my blood for the truth of what I am saying, I should not spare it, not only because of the affection and esteem I entertain for the person in question, but because naturally I have an aversion for inventions. . . . I assure you of her goodwill and of my own. If she had had other thoughts, it is certain that she would not have chosen this place or me for a witness. I would that I had words strong enough, as her conduct is pure, to show it to you as it really is, and to represent to you the reasonable and Christian sentiments which she entertains. You would easily understand that the persons who honour her cannot say all the good that is to be said. As for myself, I frankly confess that my hand is incapable of estimating the least part of them, but I thought that those who are busying themselves on her behalf would be very pleased to have my evidence, which is in accordance with the plain truth ; and I hope that God will take her under His protection, since she trusts so confidently in Him.”¹

On March 27, 1654, Condé was tried, by default, for high treason, with the result that he was declared to have forfeited the name of Bourbon and his rank as Prince of the Blood, and all his property was confiscated. However, five years were allowed him “to purge his contumacy,” during which nothing

¹ Published by the Duc d’Aumale, *Histoire des Princes de Condé*.

was to be touched ; and, before that time had elapsed, the negotiations which ended in the Peace of the Pyrenees and the pardon of Condé had already begun.

The condemnation of her much-loved brother seems to have greatly affected Madame de Longueville, who regarded herself, and with justice, as the principal author of his misfortunes ; and, on learning the news, we find her writing to the Prioress of the Carmelites of the Rue Saint-Jacques, to express the grief which it had caused her, and to beg for her prayers, both on her own and her brother's behalf.

MADAME DE LONGUEVILLE TO MARIE MADELEINE
DE JÉSUS.¹

“ I am so habituated to misfortunes, that, provided they only affect myself, I am now sufficiently disposed to bear them, if not with patience, at least with a calmness of mind which approaches it ; but I confess that I do not find myself in the same tranquillity when the evils which attack me attack, also, Monsieur my brother. . . . I give you a thousand thanks for all the favours you have done us in praying for us. Continue, I beg you, to ask for me that I may put our misfortunes to good purpose ; I say our misfortunes, since I include Monsieur my brother : it is impossible that so great a man should be suffered to be unhappy always, and, since God has ordained

¹ Marie de Lancry de Bains. (See p. 62.)

that he should be so in Time, entreat of Him that he should not be so in Eternity. Earnestly I entreat your special prayers for his conversion.”¹

Madame de Longueville remained at Moulins for some ten months, during which her husband, aided by her friends the Princess Palatine and Madame de Sablé, worked on her behalf at the Court. The aversion with which Anne of Austria had, for some years past, regarded the princess, and Mazarin's fear that, if she were permitted to join her husband in Normandy, she might attempt to excite some disturbance in that province in Condé's favour, presented serious obstacles. But, at length, towards the end of November, 1654, she received permission to leave Moulins and pay a visit to some friends, the La Croisettes, at Acquigny, where she was joined by the Duc de Longueville.

The meeting with her husband, whom she had not seen for more than three years, and who had so many causes of complaint against her, must have been a very embarrassing event for Madame de Longueville. Happily for her, the duke was one of the most kind-hearted and chivalrous of men, and, convinced of the sincerity of her repentance, and perhaps reflecting that his own conduct in regard to his wife had not been altogether free from blame, he received her with every demonstration of affection and sympathy, and

¹ Published by Bourgoing de Villefore.

did all in his power to make her "submission" an easy one. On December 3, we find the princess writing to Lenet as follows :

MADAME DE LONGUEVILLE TO LENET.

"ACQUIGNY,

"December 3, 1654.

"I am too much obliged to you for interesting yourself as you are doing in what concerns me. I have no doubt of it whatever, and on that basis I have been very easily persuaded that you would be pleased at my return to M. de Longueville, who has received me with infinite joy. He is here at present, and I have so little time to myself, that I cannot write to you fully the particulars of my return, which are all very gratifying, and such as I have reason to be proud of, since I owe it to M. de Longueville alone, and up to the end all my enemies constantly opposed me. The Court has shown me much consideration at this juncture, and I have every reason to be satisfied, so far as my personal interests are concerned. I ask nothing more of God, except peace, and I ask of you the continuation of your friendship, and that you may not doubt my own. My compliments to M. de Marsin." ¹

About a fortnight later, Madame de Longueville received permission from the King "to go to his town

¹ Published by the Duc d'Aumale, *Histoire des Princes de Condé*.

of Rouen and wherever else she might wish to go within his province of Normandy."

During the next six years, Madame de Longueville's life seems to have been very uneventful. She passed the greater part of her time with her husband in Normandy, either at his château of Trie or at the Vieux-Palais at Rouen, superintending the education of her two boys, and leading a life of the most rigorous piety. Her charity was boundless ; and, not content with responding generously to all who appealed to her benevolence, she was at considerable pains to seek out deserving objects of her compassion, particularly those who had suffered through her and her party, and to assist them by every means in her power. In 1655, she accompanied her husband, who, with increasing years, had become a martyr to the gout, to the baths of Bourbon, and, while there, defrayed the expenses of a great number of poor persons of the neighbourhood who were in need of the waters, but whose poverty prevented them from benefiting by them. Before leaving, moreover, she made arrangements to ensure that the good work which she had begun might be continued.

The princess continued to follow with the keenest anxiety the fortunes of Condé, and that time and absence had in no way diminished the deep affection which she had always cherished for him is shown by the following letter, which she addressed to the prince, in the autumn of 1657, on learning that he was ill.

MADAME DE LONGUEVILLE TO THE PRINCE DE
CONDÉ.

"TRIE,

"14 November, 1657.

"I have learned on my return from Caen of your illness, and, although I am assured on your behalf that it is nothing dangerous, I cannot obey the order which you give me not to trouble myself about it, for I confess to you that I do so in a way which cannot be imagined. It is at such times as these that one feels with redoubled violence the grief which one always experiences at your unhappy absence, and one cannot console oneself for being unable to hasten to you, to see and to serve you. In God's name, have the charity to give instructions that news of you may be sent me regularly, so long as your illness lasts. We have just arrived from Caen, where I intended to have my children painted for you; but the artists there are so execrable, that I preferred to have nothing done, since I do not wish you to behold their faces as though they were worse-looking than they are, having too much concern and desire that they should please you. The first time we go to see them, I shall take an artist from Paris, in order to send them to you. But this is not the time to weary you with a long letter. I must conclude it, and assure you that, if my prayers were efficacious, you would soon be perfectly cured and entirely content. Adieu, my dear brother; I am wholly yours."¹

¹ *Archives de Condé*, Chantilly, published by the Duc d'Aumale, *Histoire des Princes de Condé*.

The path of penitence is never an easy one, and for some years Madame de Longueville appears to have found it peculiarly thorny. So great was her humility that, instead of having recourse to the guidance of some wise and enlightened director, she took for her confessor an old parish priest, a pious and well-meaning man, but ignorant, narrow-minded, and altogether incapable of understanding the spiritual needs of such a woman. Abusing her repentance and her humility, he proceeded to impose upon her the most rigorous practices of a vulgar devotion. The poor woman, having accused herself of an inclination for social gatherings, the reading of books of a somewhat frivolous nature, and fashionable attire, her confessor forbade her to mix in society, interdicted all reading, save works of piety, often very insipid, and—what his hapless penitent must have found more trying than either—prohibited the wearing of any jewellery, or even the ordinary dress of a woman of rank, and directed her “to bury her blond locks and conceal that charming figure under long robes and extravagant *coiffes* resembling those of a nun.”¹

Madame de Longueville, although her whole nature revolted against these extravagances, submitted to them with the utmost docility, as well as to the frequent fasting which was also prescribed, and which she appears to have carried to far greater lengths than even her director was aware of. But before long these austerities began to affect her health, and, had

¹ Victor Cousin, *Madame de Sablé*.

not the Duc de Longueville, alarmed at the change in his wife, insisted on her moderating them to some extent, she would have fallen seriously ill.

Although the princess had practically withdrawn from the fashionable world in which she had once been so prominent a figure, she still continued her intercourse with a few of her most intimate friends. The Palatine, "who did not love her less now that she had become devout, than she had loved her as a worldling," came to visit her in Normandy, in the autumn of 1655, and the two princesses "passed together delightful days, in which their talk ran often upon the vanity of human affairs."¹ Fifteen years later, Anne de Gonzague, as the result, according to Bossuet, of "one of those dreams which God causes to come from Heaven through the ministration of the angels,"² was herself to be converted, and to plunge into devotion with as much fervour as she had formerly displayed in political intrigue.

Another lady who was on terms of the closest friendship with Madame de Longueville at this period was Mlle. de Vertus, a younger sister of the too-celebrated Madame de Montbazon. Without being a beauty, Mlle. de Vertus was, or had been, of very prepossessing appearance ; but the failure of her parents to provide her with the indispensable *dot*, or, indeed, with any means of support, had condemned her to seek an asylum, first, with the Comtesse de Soissons,

¹ Bourgoing de Villefore.

² *Oraison funèbre de la Princesse Palatine*,

and, afterwards, with the Duchesse de Rohan. She was an estimable young woman, amiable and cultured ; and, notwithstanding the liberty she had enjoyed, and the deplorable example of her elder sister, even Tallemant des Réaux has spared her character. Shortly before the close of the Fronde, "God had shown her the strait path which leads to life,"¹ and she had been in retreat at the Couvent de la Visitation, at Moulins, at the same time as Madame de Longueville, where her example and counsel would appear to have contributed not a little to the important resolution which the princess then formed. Mlle. de Vertus also seems to have rendered her friend valuable assistance in bringing about the reconciliation between her and her husband ; and from that time forward she exercised a great influence over Madame de Longueville, who held her in high esteem, and after the duke's death, in 1663, invited her to make her home with her.

Towards the end of 1659 or the beginning of 1660, when the Peace of the Pyrenees had opened France to Condé, and Madame de Longueville was again able to visit Paris, she renewed her former intimacy with Madame de Sablé, who had been her guide and philosopher when she first entered society, and who, notwithstanding the great disparity in their ages, had always remained one of her dearest friends. Madame de Sablé had lately exchanged Spanish *galanterie* for Jansenism, and her hôtel in the Place-

¹ *Nécrologe de Port-Royal* (Amsterdam, 1723).

Royale for a modest house within the precincts of the Abbey of Port-Royal de Paris,¹ in the Rue de la Bourbe, not far from the Carmelites of the Rue Saint-Jacques. Here the marchioness proceeded to "make her soul," as the Irish say, without, however, neglecting her other occupations. She had always been the queen of the *gourmets*—a kind of seventeenth-century Brillat-Savarin—and, though she was warned that she would never drive the devil away from her, so long as she permitted him to remain firmly entrenched in her kitchen, she refused to sacrifice the very excellent *chef* she employed to, what she considered, the prejudices of her confessor, and continued to give choice little dinners to her numerous friends. She was also extraordinarily careful of her health, to such a degree, that the first *Madame*—the ill-fated Henrietta of England—once wrote, playfully excusing herself from coming to see her, on the ground that she had a cold, and feared that the sight of her alone might make her friend ill; and she had composed elixirs for every disease under the sun, from the "vapours" to small-pox. Her taste for intellectual society remained unaffected by her so-called retreat, and she continued to surround herself with a body of *beaux esprits* who made her little gabled house

¹ In 1625, the nuns of Port-Royal-des-Champs, which was situated in the valley of Chevreuse, about eighteen miles from the capital, had removed to the monastery in the Faubourg Saint-Jacques, hereafter known as Port-Royal-de-Paris, to distinguish it from the other. It was about 1638 that the first of the famous little group of "hermits" took up their abode in the outer precincts of the deserted monastery.

another Hôtel de Rambouillet in miniature. Here might be met the beautiful and devout Madame de Guéménée ; Julie d'Angennes, Duchesse de Montausier, and her austere husband ; Marie de Hautefort, now Duchesse de Schomberg ; Madame de la Fayette and Madame de Sévigné ; the Abbé Testu—whom the last-named lady so unjustly accuses, in one of her letters, of carrying on an intrigue with Madame de Montespan's sister, the beautiful and virtuous Gabrielle de Rochechouart, Abbess of Fontevrault, and to whom Louis XIV. refused a bishopric, with the remark that those who failed to rule themselves, could not be expected to rule others ; Jacques Esprit, of the Academy, La Rochefoucauld, and Madame de Brégy, an egregious flatterer of her hostess,¹ together with some of the great lights of the Jansenists : Antoine Arnauld, Nicole, Pascal, and the grave jurisconsult Domat.

All things in heaven and earth seem to have been discussed at Madame de Sablé's house, but, as was only appropriate in a company which assembled beneath the shadow of a monastery, serious topics predominated. The habitués were interested in Descartes,

¹ "I saw you yesterday, Madame," she writes, "so beautiful and so charming, that, if the famous Paris had encountered you, also, on his way the day that he bestowed the apple, it would have been yours ; and, by the justice which he would have done you against the goddesses, he would have escaped the fatal present of the heart of Helen, which cost him so many calamities, and of which perhaps he repented." This letter is dated October 29, 1677, when Madame de Sablé was in her seventy-ninth year!—Published by M. Victor du Bled, *la Société française du XVI^e au XX^e siècle : la Société et Port-Royal*.

in logic, in the quarrels between Jesuits and Jansenists, and in the human passions in general; and the portfolios of Valant, preserved in the Bibliothèque Nationale, which may be considered as the archives of the marchioness's salon, show that it was their custom to condense the subjects of these long conversations into brief and expressive sentences. Madame de Sablé's salon, indeed, is chiefly noteworthy for having inaugurated a new phase in French prose—for having brought into vogue the *maximes* and *pensées*, in which the thoughts of many great minds have since found expression. The hostess herself wrote *Maximes*, which were collected and published by her friend, the Abbé d'Ailly, shortly after her death,¹ and she communicated her taste for this form of expression to her friends. Victor Cousin goes so far as to believe that, had it not been for her, we should never have had Pascal's masterpiece; but, however that may be, it is certain that she inspired and even, in some sense, may be said to have collaborated with, La Rochefoucauld in the composition of his *Maximes*. His letters to Madame de Sablé prove that he consulted her continually, both on the subject and the form of his reflections. "You know," he writes to her on one occasion, "that I trust only you in certain matters, and particularly concerning the intricacies of the heart." And again: "Sentences are not sentences until you have approved them. You

¹ They were subsequently reprinted at the end of an edition of La Rochefoucauld's *Maximes* published, at Amsterdam, in 1704.

cannot disapprove of them all, for many of them are yours." Madame de Sablé, in her turn, passed them on to her friends for their opinion, sometimes without the knowledge of the writer ; and we find the Duchesse de Schomberg writing that she considers that certain sentences are not good French—"that is to say, they contain phrases and expressions which savour rather of a man of the Court than of an author."

Madame de Longueville not only visited Madame de Sablé, but she maintained an active correspondence with her. In the portfolios of Valant, Victor Cousin discovered more than two hundred letters from the princess to her friend, extending over a period of more than fifteen years, that is to say, from 1659 or 1660 to 1674. No doubt this correspondence began at an earlier date and continued down to the time of Madame de Sablé's death, in 1678 ; but, though few of the letters are dated, practically all of them, in Cousin's opinion, belong to the period mentioned. A singular feature about these letters is that the two ladies appear to have agreed to destroy each other's epistles so soon as they had been read. Madame de Longueville is continually reminding her friend of this arrangement, and assuring her that she has scrupulously observed her part of the bargain : "Burn this note immediately, I beg you, and all those I write you as well, and send me word that it is burnt ;" "Have no fear for your letter : I will burn it so soon as I have read it ;" "Do not fear to write plainly, since I burn your letters the moment I have read them ;"

“Burn this, in God’s name;” and so forth. But, while Madame de Longueville seems to have faithfully observed their agreement, since none of Madame de Sablé’s letters have come to light, the marchioness kept those of her friend—a breach of faith which students of seventeenth-century society will find it hard not to forgive—and handed them over to her friend Valant, who not only religiously preserved them, but made copies of a great number, since many letters are marked: “Longueville. *Copie, numéro . . . Collationné, page . . .*” These copies have disappeared, which, however, matters little, since the originals are in existence.

As might be expected from the fact that these letters of Madame de Longueville were intended only for the eyes of an old friend, and, when read, to be consigned to the fire, they are singularly frank and quite innocent of any pretensions to literary elegance. “She writes from pure necessity, with a running pen, to say what she wishes to say, without caring in the least about style.”¹ Nevertheless, in spite of the “interminable phrases” which tried the patience of Sainte-Beuve,² they are not without a certain natural grace; while they reveal the mind of the writer in a way we may seek in vain in those studied epistles, destined to be passed round for the delectation of an admiring circle of friends, and afterwards to be handed down to posterity.

So long as her husband lived, Madame de Longueville believed it to be her duty, out of consideration for his

¹ Victor Cousin, *Madame de Sablé*.

² Sainte-Beuve, *Portraits de Femmes: Madame de Longueville*.

position, to steer a kind of middle course between the austere piety to which she inclined and the conventions of society. Like all the devotees of the seventeenth century, she regarded the theatre and everything connected with it as anathema.¹ And, although, when the Duc de Longueville was in residence at Rouen, the capital of his government, she frequently gave princely entertainments, she firmly refused to allow plays to be performed in her house or her children to take part in them.² On the other hand, she never sought to prevent any relatives or friends who happened to be visiting her from amusing themselves in this manner, and, as the following letter shows, she was not a little indignant on learning that a rumour was current that she had interdicted this amusement to her sister-in-law, the Princess de Conti.

MADAME DE LONGUEVILLE TO MADAME DE SABLÉ.

"ROUEN,

"May 21 [1660].

"... I learn that a very exaggerated rumour has been circulated about my severity in regard to the play. Here is the truth of this story : My children were

¹ On the attitude of the Gallican Church towards the Theatre, see M. Gaston Maugras's *les Comédiens, hors la loi*, and the author's "Queens of the French Stage : The Wife of Molière."

² Performances of plays in private houses, particularly by children, were very frequent in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The talent of the celebrated *tragédienne* Adrienne Lecouvreur was first revealed, when, as a little girl of thirteen, she took part in a performance of Corneille's *Polyeucte*, at the house of a Président du Gué, in the Rue Garancière.

engaged to give a play to my sister-in-law, and that without saying a word about it to me. The first news that I learned of this was that the affair was all arranged. I was astonished at it, because, when M. de Longueville is not residing in the same place as I am, and my children are under my control, I do not permit them to go either to ball or play, because I am convinced that, unless there is an indispensable necessity for these kinds of functions, they are sinful. I admit then that, taking into consideration also the example this would set in a town where I have authority, the inconsistency that I should show by condemning the play by my language, and in permitting, at the same time, my children to give a performance, made me resolve to bid them excuse themselves. This severity affected my children alone, for, in regard to my sister-in-law, over whom I have no sort of authority, I have not prevented other persons in the town from performing plays for her amusement, and, on some occasions, I have even thanked them for the trouble they have taken to divert her. You will see clearly that my discipline extends only over those for whom I am answerable to God, and not over others. And so much is this the case, that from the moment M. de Longueville returns, I do not prevent my children from doing these things, since it is right that, when he is present, he should direct the family. I do not pay too much heed nowadays to what the world says ; but, since I am aware that I am made to say or do what I have neither said nor done, I am well pleased that you should know the truth of

this story, in order that you may tell it when occasion arises, but, nevertheless, without courting such occasions too much."

Madame de Longueville had at first regarded her brother's marriage with Anne Marie Martinozzi with grave displeasure ; but when, towards the end of the year 1657, she was reconciled to Conti, and made the acquaintance of his wife, she did not fail to appreciate the many excellent qualities of this admirable woman, and they speedily became fast friends. After his marriage, Conti had been made Governor of Guienne, in place of his elder brother, and given the command of the French army in Catalonia, where he forced the Spaniards to raise the siege of Roses, and gained some small victories. In 1657, he was transferred to the army in Italy, but met with little success ; and, on his return to France, received the government of Languedoc. Here he met the saintly Nicolas Pavillon, Bishop of Alet, and under his influence, joined to that of Madame de Longueville, he was converted and became exceedingly devout, as did his wife, although up to that time she had been, according to her own expression, "merely an honest pagan." Madame de Sévigné tells us that "the beauty of his [Conti's] penitence surpassed the ugliness of his faults." It was certainly of an extremely rigorous type ; but it is somewhat curious to see this erstwhile patron of Molière indulging in violent diatribes against the theatre, and gravely informing the world that a troupe

of actors is a "troupe of devils," and to amuse oneself at the play is "to delight the demon."¹

In 1661, the Princesse de Conti was offered a post at Court. Madame de Longueville, who watched over her sister-in-law with an almost maternal tenderness, feared that her piety and virtue might not be proof against the dangers and temptations she would have to encounter, and writes to her friend at Port-Royal :

MADAME DE LONGUEVILLE TO MADAME DE SABLÉ.

"ROUEN,

"22 June [1661.]

"... Truly, if the Princesse de Conti were able to maintain at Court the virtuous life she now leads, I should wish her to be there ; but how can she ? And is it not to expose people to certain perils, to place them in such posts at twenty-four years of age, beautiful, happy, and in the midst of grandeur and pleasure ? And to expect them to emerge safe and sound from such things ! It is to credit them with supernatural powers. That is why I am unwilling to make myself a party to it ; but, at the same time, I do not wish to deter her, because God may have intentions, and He is able to preserve her in that place, if He wishes to make use of her to sanctify it, as He preserved the three children in the furnace of Babylon."

The Princesse de Conti would seem to have been a

¹ *Traité de la comédie et les spectacles, selon la tradition de l'Église* (1667).



From an engraving by Leguay after a painting by an unknown artist.

MADELEINE DE SOUVRE, MARQUISE DE SABLÉ.

singularly unsophisticated young woman, for in another letter—presumably anterior to the preceding, though the year is not given—Madame de Longueville writes :

MADAME DE LONGUEVILLE TO MADAME DE SABLÉ.

“TRIE,
“ 24 *June*.

“ . . . I am ashamed of what you tell me about the conduct of the Princesse de Conti towards Madame de la Meilleraie. She does not act thus with the intention of failing in courtesy towards people ; but it is true that she does not know how one ought to behave towards the world. I have never heard her speak of that. When you see Madame de la Meilleraie, tell her, if you please, how very much annoyed I am that a person so nearly related to me should have treated her in this manner.”

Madame de Sablé, as we have mentioned, took the most extraordinary care of her health, and had the most intense dread of infection. Before taking up her residence at Port-Royal, she had exacted a solemn promise from the nuns that she should immediately be informed if any of their community fell sick, and also of the exact nature of the malady ; and it seems to have been a point of honour among her friends never to approach her without permission, if they had so much as entered a house where a person was suffering from an infectious ailment, even of the most trivial nature. Madame de Longueville good-naturedly

humoured the old lady's weakness. Here is an amusing letter which she wrote her at a time when her nephew, the Duc d'Enghien, was suffering from an attack of measles.

MADAME DE LONGUEVILLE TO MADAME DE SABLÉ.

"TRIE,
"22 October.

" . . . I have been somewhat indisposed ever since I last saw you ; my brother, the Prince de Conti, has been in retreat, and thus I have not been able to come and see you. Now there is a new obstacle to my doing so : my nephew has the measles. I do not see him, but I see those who do. Let me know then if, when my health will permit me to see you, this circumstance will not prevent you from wishing it, and whether you would also like to see my brother, for he goes to the Hôtel de Condé, though he does not see my nephew.

" I know not for certain if he entered my nephew's room yesterday, but, from what I know of my brother, I should say not, for he is the most discreet person imaginable in these matters ; and, further, I am well aware that, even in the case of the most trivial ailments, he does not go into my nephew's room, for he does not like it. But, in any case, I should take the water,¹ if I were in your place ; and, if you wish, I will ascertain the facts of the matter and let you know, in

¹ Presumably some elixir of Madame de Sablé's composition against infection,

case you should be too much alarmed, if you learn that what you fear is true."

The return of Condé to France after the Peace of the Pyrenees, by which, thanks to the firmness of Spain, he had been re-established in his property and all his titles and offices, was a great joy to Madame de Longueville. On December 29, 1659, *Monsieur le Prince*, accompanied by the Duc d'Enghien, left Brussels, and, on January 4, arrived at the Château of Coulommiers, whither M. and Madame de Longueville had come to welcome him. The meeting between the brother and sister, after their separation of nearly eight years, was a very tender one, and the latter received the reward of her unswerving fidelity to Condé's interests in the affection and esteem which the prince continued to show for her during the rest of her life. After remaining a week at Coulommiers, Madame de Longueville and the Princesse de Condé, who had joined her husband the day after his arrival, set out for Trie; the Duc d'Enghien was sent to Augerville, to the house of the Président Perrault, who had himself recently returned from exile; while Condé, accompanied by his brother-in-law, continued his journey to Aix, in Provence, where the Court then was, to salute the King. At Lambesc, they were met by Conti, who must have been not a little uneasy as to the reception he was likely to meet with from the brother whose cause he had betrayed. However, Condé greeted him affectionately, and, though the intimacy which had once

existed between them was never renewed, they remained on friendly terms. On January 27, *Monsieur le Prince* reached Aix, and went at once to visit Mazarin, to whom, since the Peace of the Pyrenees, he had written several "rather civil" letters. The interview between the two old enemies, though necessarily somewhat constrained, passed off satisfactorily enough. Condé recognised that the Cardinal was now far too firmly seated in the saddle ever to be dislodged, while Mazarin felt that he could afford to be magnanimous. At its conclusion, the prince was "introduced into the Queen's chamber, where he presented his respects to their Majesties."¹ The memoirs of the time—even those of *Mademoiselle*, who does not conceal her disgust at not having been able to learn anything—are silent regarding this interview, which lasted more than an hour. No one seems to know what passed, but all are agreed that the Prince de Condé, when it was over, appeared to be as much at his ease at Court as if he had never left it.

The following evening, the prince supped with Mazarin, who entertained him magnificently; and on February 4 the Court set out for Toulon, while Condé took the road to Paris. Here he met with a most cordial reception; the Parlement and the other courts presented him with an address of welcome; all Paris hastened to follow their example; and the Hôtel de Condé, so long deserted, was for some weeks the centre of animation. Once more history repeated

¹ *Gazette de France*, 1660,

itself. Although Condé had been longer than his father before him in learning his lesson, he had learned it even more thoroughly. "Thenceforth," says Montglat, "he determined to live as a private individual, without taking part in anything, and to have a complete and entire complaisance and docility for the Court and its favourites."¹ In this resolution he never wavered, and to the end of the prince's life Louis XIV. had no more faithful servant, no more devoted courtier, than the former chief of the Fronde.

¹ *Mémoires*.

CHAPTER XXV

Visit of Madame de Longueville to Fontainebleau, on the occasion of the birth of the Dauphin—Her conversion to Jansenism—The “*Formulaire*”—Persecution of Port-Royal and the Jansenists—Antoine Singlin becomes Madame de Longueville’s confessor—Her self-examination—Surreptitious publication of La Rochefoucauld’s *Mémoires*—Scandal aroused by this work, particularly by its attacks on Madame de Longueville—La Rochefoucauld disavows it—Conduct of Madame de Longueville in regard to it, and the *Histoire amoureuse des Gaules* of Bussy-Rabutin—Death of the Duc de Longueville—The princess constitutes herself the champion of the persecuted Jansenists—She shelters Antoine Arnauld and Nicole in her hôtel in Paris—An amusing incident—Madame de Longueville’s letter to Pope Clement IX.—Zeal and ability displayed by her in the negotiations for the pacification of the Church—Consideration of Louis XIV. for her—Eulogy of Fontaine.

ALTHOUGH the return of her brother to favour would have permitted Madame de Longueville, had she so desired, to resume her place at Court, she preferred to remain in Normandy, and to lead the same retired life. She paid occasional brief visits to Paris, most of her time being spent with Madame de Sablé, or with the Carmelites of the Rue Saint-Jacques, but she did not reappear at Court. However, the reports of her piety and benevolence which had reached them had convinced Louis XIV. and Anne of Austria of the sincerity of the princess’s conversion, and so entirely disarmed their hostility, that the Duc

de Longueville begged her more than once to plead his interests with the King. She complied with his request ; but, immediately her audience with his Majesty was over, the Court saw her no more.

When, at the end of October, 1661, the new Queen, Maria Theresa, was nearing her confinement, etiquette required that Madame de Longueville should be present, and she accordingly passed some days at Fontainebleau. In a letter to Madame de Sablé she relates how she lived at Court :

MADAME DE LONGUEVILLE TO MADAME DE SABLÉ.

“ FONTAINEBLEAU,

“ 31 October, 1661.

“ It is rather a consolation for the fatigue that one experiences at Fontainebleau to reply to you than an additional fatigue, and nothing is more inaptly named than that ; but, indeed, I need nothing less agreeable than the proofs of your remembrance of me to mitigate a little the chagrin that I experience here. I am not so incommoded as you imagine, since my brother has taken the room where I endured so much noise, and has given me his, where I have none at all. It is the only consolation of Fontainebleau for me ; for the same very lofty situation which renders it free from noise, renders it so inaccessible to those persons who are not possessed with an intense desire to see me, that, since there are few of this disposition, I find myself in a somewhat solitary position there for the Court. I pass there a part of my life,

for many reasons, and I see little of the Queen-Mother, except in the morning, or when I accompany her to the vespers before the Holy Sacrament, which is exposed, and will continue to be, until the Queen's delivery. There is no opportunity for any one who might be even more experienced than myself to ask anything, or to aspire to favours at a time like this. Justice is almost refused : how can one ask favours ? When I see you, I will describe the Court to you ; then I am sure that you will admit that it does not encourage one to do violence to one's feelings in order to exact benefits." ¹

It would appear to have been in the course of this autumn that an event took place in Madame de Longueville's life of great importance both to herself and to others ; she became an ardent Jansenist and one of the most powerful protectors of Port-Royal.

In 1653, the influence of the Jesuits had obtained from Innocent X. a Bull condemning as heretical the Five Propositions contained in Jansenius's famous work *Augustinus*.² This Bull, confirmed three years later by Alexander VII., in a new decree, was accepted by the great majority of the French clergy ; and, in 1656, the General Assembly elaborated a profession of faith, which was to be signed by every ecclesiastic, and even by nuns, solemnly disavowing the doctrine

¹ Presumably, Madame de Sablé had requested Madame de Longueville to ask some favour for her from the King.

² Only one of the propositions was actually in the book ; the others were " implied."

of Jansenius.¹ The attacks of Pascal upon the Jesuits, and the miracles of which the monastery of Port-Royal was the scene, procured the Jansenists a respite of several years ; but when, after the death of Mazarin, in March 1661, Louis XIV. began to reign in earnest, the "*Formulaire*" was again presented for signature. Most of the nuns of Port-Royal, and practically all the leaders of the party refused to subscribe to it, and at once the persecution, which had been foreshadowed the previous year by the dispersal of the schools of Port-Royal, was rigorously instituted. Those inmates of Port-Royal who had not yet taken the final vows were removed ; some of the Sisters were sent to other convents ; the monastery was placed under an interdict ; Pavillon, Bishop of Alet, Henri Arnauld, Bishop of Angers—brother of Antoine and Angélique Arnauld—and the Bishops of Beauvais and Pamiers, who had declined to allow the "*Formulaire*" to be circulated in their dioceses, were suspended ; while Sacy, Singlin, Du Fossé, Fontaine, and other prominent Jansenists had to go into hiding to escape arrest.

It is somewhat difficult to understand why Madame de Longueville, so intimately connected from childhood with the Carmelites—one of the most rigidly orthodox communities in the whole Catholic Church, who had

¹ It was in these words : " I submit myself entirely to the constitution of our Holy Father, Pope Innocent X., and I condemn with heart and mouth the doctrine of the Five Propositions of Cornelius Jansenius, contained in his book *Augustinus*, which the Pope and the Bishops have condemned, a doctrine which is not that of St. Augustine, which Jansenius has ill explained, and is contrary to the true meaning of that great doctor.'

accepted the "*Formulaire*" without the slightest hesitation—should have suddenly become enamoured of the doctrines of Jansenius, and, while yet barely recovered from the storms of the Fronde, should have gone out of her way to encounter others, and engage in a new war, almost as difficult as the first. The explanation, in Victor Cousin's opinion, is to be found in that generosity of character which rendered all tyranny odious to her, and invariably inclined her to the side of the oppressed. Port-Royal had for her all the attraction of a persecuted cause ; the heroic sacrifices of such men as the Abbé de Saint-Cyran, Antoine Arnauld, Sacy, Pascal, and Singlin ; of such women as Angélique Arnauld (*la Grande Mère Angélique*), her sister Agnès, their niece Angélique de Saint-Jean, and their disciple Jacqueline Pascal, on behalf of what they held to be the truth, appealed to her with an irresistible force. It was the personal, far more than the theological, side of Jansenism which interested her ; the genius, the heroism, the saintly lives, and the misfortunes of the nuns and "hermits," far more than the opinions for which they endured so much ; though she accepted them for very much the same reason as she had accepted the political views of La Rochefoucauld in years gone by—because she was governed by her affections ; and, as her former lover tells us in his *Mémoires*, she so transformed herself by entering into the sentiments of those who pleased her, that she no longer recognised her own.

To Madame de Sablé and Mlle. de Vertus, both zealous friends of the persecuted party, belonged the credit of this important accession to the ranks of its protectors. In the early spring of 1661, they appear to have introduced her to the saintly Mère Angélique. The latter, aware that her days were numbered—she died in the following August—and tortured with anxiety for the future of her beloved community, was deeply impressed by the kindness and sympathy of Madame de Longueville, as well as by the genuine piety which she showed, and wrote to Madame de Sablé that “all she had seen of this princess seemed to her of the finest gold.”

Madame de Longueville's great wish now was to place herself under the guidance of Antoine Singlin, the celebrated confessor of Port-Royal.⁴ The princess had suffered much from the short-sightedness of the confessor she had chosen in Normandy; and the one to whom she was accustomed to have recourse when she was in Paris does not seem to have been much more enlightened. They did little for their penitent beyond prescribing for her constant and useless mortifications, and filling her mind with vain scruples, which had brought her almost to the verge of despair.

Singlin was not anxious to undertake the office. At the beginning of May, 1661, a *lettre de cachet* had been issued for his arrest, since which time he had been in hiding, and he was aware that his visits to the Hôtel de Longueville must be attended by considerable risk of detection. However, Madame de Sablé and

Mlle. de Vertus pleaded so hard for their friend, that the good man eventually allowed himself to be overruled, and, one day, having disguised himself in a short cloak and an enormous wig, he presented himself at the Hôtel de Longueville as a physician whom the princess desired to consult, which, as Fontaine observes in his *Mémoires*, was, in a sense, very true. The following letter of Mlle. de Vertus shows what infinite precautions were taken to guard against his identity being discovered.

MLLE. DE VERTUS TO MADAME DE SABLÉ.

“You are entreated to arrange for your friend [Singlin] to come here to-morrow. He must come in a chair and send away his chairmen, and I will give him mine to take him wherever he wishes to go. He will be put in a room where no one will see him; he will not be asked who he is. Thus, my good Madame, no difficulty need be apprehended. I ask only to know the precise hour, in order that I may get rid of any strangers who may happen to be with me. If he arrives in a chair, let him come straight into the courtyard. I am very anxious for this visit to take place, since this poor woman [Madame de Longueville] has no peace of mind. If I can see her in good hands, it will, I confess to you, be a great joy to me. I shall seem to be like those persons who see their friends provided for, and have nothing more to do than to rest.”

The result of the interview between Madame de Longueville and the divine seems to have exceeded Mlle. de Vertus's fondest anticipations. "Your friend [Madame de Longueville] is so satisfied with the conversation, which lasted three hours, that she was no longer the same woman when I saw her again. I spent some moments with him [Singlin]; but, since it was necessary for him to converse a long time with your friend, I did not wish to try his voice, and I mortified myself by leaving him, for he told me some admirable things."

And, in a subsequent letter, she writes :

"You will learn in more detail from Madame de Longueville how satisfied she is with the conversation of M. de Montigny [the name which Singlin had adopted]; for she told me that she found in him the utmost kindness and an admirable firmness, in a word, everything which is required in a true director."¹

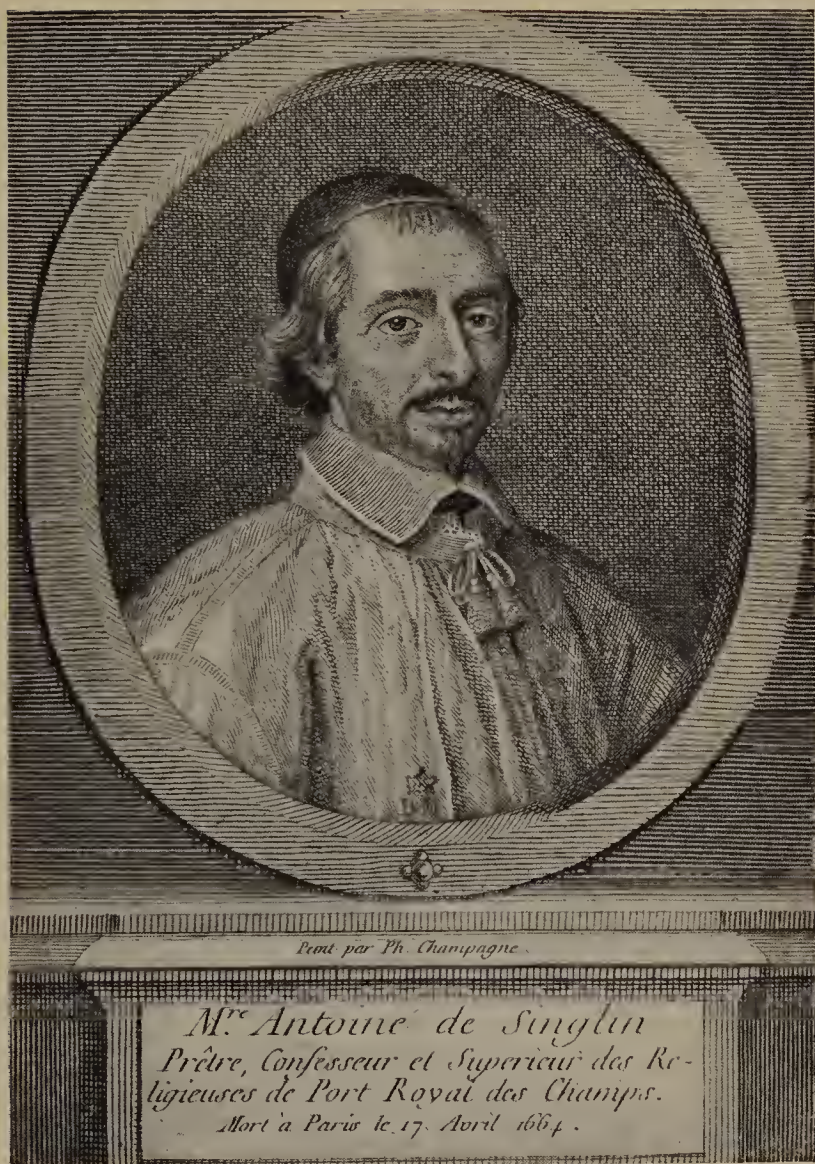
Under the wise direction of this excellent man, Madame de Longueville at last obtained that peace of mind for which she had so long craved in vain. "It is a long time," she writes, in the self-examination of which we have spoken elsewhere, "since I began to seek (so it seems to me) the way that leads to life; but I was always convinced that I had not reached it, without knowing exactly what was my obstacle. I felt that there was one between God and me, but I knew it not, and I felt that I was

¹ *Portefeuilles de Valant*, Bibliothèque Nationale, published by Victor Cousin, *Madame de Sablé*.

not really in my place, and I experienced a certain uneasiness at not being there, without, however, knowing where it was, or how to look for it. It seems to me, on the other hand, since I have placed myself under the guidance of M. Singlin, that I am really in that place which I sought—that is to say, at the true entrance to the path of Christian life, round which I had wandered until now.”

Skilful physician of souls as he was, Singlin had been swift to detect the blemish in the character of his penitent: that pride, that love of distinction, that desire to play a great part in the world, which, artfully fostered by La Rochefoucauld, had been the source of all her errors. “The things which resulted from it [pride],” she continues, “were not unknown to me, but I considered only its effects, which indeed I judged to be great. Nevertheless, by all that has been revealed to me, I can see that I never went to that source: it was not that I was unaware that pride had been the starting-point of all my errors; but I did not imagine it to be as vital as it is, and yet I can now see that it was there that they all originated. My soul was divided between love of pleasure and pride in the days of my criminal life; when I say pleasure, I mean that which appealed to my mind, for others do not naturally attract me; but these two miserable motives agreed so well together, that, during those miserable days, they were the guiding principle of my conduct. Having therefore taken this pleasure, which I sought after, in all that flattered my pride,

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From an engraving after the painting by Philippe de Champagne.

ANTOINE SINGLIN.

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and really proposed to myself what the Demon proposed to our first parents : ' Ye shall be as gods ! ' this saying, which was like an arrow which pierced their hearts, has so wounded mine, that from this profound wound the blood still flows, and will long continue to flow; if Jesus Christ, by His grace, does not arrest it." ¹

To overcome this desire for distinction was the task which her new confessor set himself. He recognised that it was still as ardent as ever, though the object of her ambition had changed, and that it was prompting her to go to the same extravagant lengths in devotion as she had formerly in political intrigue.: in other words, that she desired to be, as it were, distinguished in piety. He accordingly sternly discountenanced all excessive austerities ; advised her to make restitution wherever possible for the miseries her misguided ambition had brought upon so many innocent people, but to avoid useless brooding over what could not be remedied ; to do her duty in her own sphere ; to divide her time between reading and "working with her hands so far as she could for the poor ;" and to give up all idea of retiring from the world, though she must practise detachment from it." ²

Under Singlin's firm yet kindly guidance, Madame

¹ *Supplément au Nécrologe de Port-Royal.*

² M. Singlin, however, was very far from inclined to make the road to Heaven "*un chemin de velours*" for his penitent, as La Fontaine said of the Jesuits. Thus, Madame de Longueville tells us that, "lawful things were forbidden her, because of her self-abandonment to unlawful things; that she was directed to repeat in her heart the seven

de Longueville seems to have found great peace of mind. Unfortunately, it soon failed her, for he died in April, 1664, worn out by his austerities. Père Sacy, Antoine Arnauld's nephew, succeeded him, and remained her confessor for two years, when one day, while on his way to the Hôtel de Longueville, he was arrested and carried off to the Bastille, which he did not leave until the Peace of the Church, in 1669.

It was well that Madame de Longueville had at last found a confessor to whom she was able to turn for counsel and support when in trouble, for her Christian fortitude was about to be put to a severe test.

After recovering from the wound which he had received in the engagement of the Faubourg Saint-Antoine, La Rochefoucauld seems for a time to have had some idea of following Condé to Flanders. He refused to accept the amnesty of October 21, 1652, and even went so far as to enter into negotiations with the Spaniards, with a view to taking service with them. But his disgust with the ill-success which had attended his rebellious enterprises finally prevailed over his loyalty to the leader of his party, and he made his submission, and was permitted to withdraw to his estates. Here he busied himself with repairing

Penitential Psalms at stated times ; to apply to herself the words of our Lord to the Syro-Phœnician woman, and "to feel really and truly that she was unworthy of the smallest crumb of God's grace ;" to say a *Miserere* every day prostrate on the ground, and to awake every morning at two o'clock for prayer and reflection.

the breaches in the fortune which the civil wars had made, and beguiled his leisure by writing his *Mémoires*, in which work he expressed himself with the utmost freedom concerning every one against whom he had, or imagined he had, cause for complaint.

Through fear of incurring the displeasure of the King and the resentment of the numerous highly-placed persons upon whom he had vented his rancour, La Rochefoucauld appears to have had no intention of allowing his *Mémoires* to be published till after his death, or at any rate, for many years, when the more elderly of the chief actors in the Fronde would have disappeared from the scene, and the episodes in which he had made his victims play so equivocal a rôle have become but vague memories. But, according to a then very common practice, he confided his manuscript to several literary friends, in order that they might make corrections in the style. One of these gentlemen, Arnauld d'Andilly—brother of Antoine Arnauld—was so indiscreet as to lend it to a friend who, unknown to him, made a copy of it; and, to the profound astonishment of the author, in the spring of 1662, his work was published at the Hague, and was soon circulating merrily over half Europe.

Its success was great; but the indignation it aroused was even greater. There was scarcely any one at Court who did not feel outraged, either in his own person or in that of some relative or intimate friend; for the disappointed intriguer had spared neither his

enemies nor his allies : all alike came under the lash.¹ But it was Madame de Longueville who was the chief sufferer. The nature of her relations with the author was ruthlessly exposed ; her character was mercilessly analysed ; her conduct cruelly misrepresented ; the extravagant devotion which Conti had once professed for her, and the jealousy he had shown on several occasions, were declared to be "more excusable in a lover than a brother ;" and the worst construction was placed upon her relations with Nemours, for whose sake she was accused, not only of betraying her lover, but also the interests of Condé, to whom, the author says, he insinuated that, "if a similar fancy took her for another, she was capable of going to the same extremes, if he desired it." "He seeks to dishonour his former mistress," says M. Bourdeau, "and continues to justify in advance his *Maximes*. 'If one judges of love by its results, it resembles hatred rather than friendship.'"²

The despair of the unfortunate princess may be imagined. To be held up to public odium ; to have all the errors of her past life raked up against her for the delectation of any one who cared to spend a few livres at a bookstall ; to be degraded in the eyes of her husband, of her friends, and of her innocent

¹ Saint-Simon relates that his father, finding himself accused of having promised to declare for the party of the princes and then broken his word, was so infuriated, that he rushed off to a neighbouring bookseller's shop, compelled him to hand over all copies of the obnoxious work in his possession, and, seizing a pen, wrote in each, against the passage which concerned him : "The author has lied about this."

² *La Rochefoucauld*.

children, at a time when she was doing her utmost to make atonement, by prayer, by fasting, by every kind of self-denial, was a crushing blow. And from whom did this blow come? From the man who had been the cause of her undoing, who had profited the most by her frailty! Never was there an outrage more unexpected or more revolting!

Madame de Longueville's friends, and, indeed, all fair-minded persons, were indignant, and Condé, of whom a by no means flattering portrait had been drawn in the book, was particularly exasperated. Much alarmed, La Rochefoucauld hastened to disavow this apocryphal edition, which was soon followed by many others. "Two-thirds of the book shown to me, and which is said to be in circulation under my name," he wrote, "are not by me, and I have no connection with it. The other third, which is near the end, is so altered and falsified in every part, and in the sense, the order, and the terms, that there is nothing in conformity with what I have written on that subject. That is why I disavow it, as a thing which has been forged by my enemies, or by the knavery of those who sell all kinds of manuscripts under whatever names they please. Madame de Sablé, M. de Liancourt, and M. Esprit have seen what I have written for myself alone; they know that it is entirely different from that which is in circulation, and that it contains nothing which is not as it should be, in what concerns *Monsieur le Prince*. M. de Liancourt has assured him of this, and he appeared persuaded of it. . . . The

same thing must be said of what concerns Madame de Longueville."

This disavowal deceived no one, although, thanks to the growing favour of the duke's eldest son, the Prince de Marsillac, with the King, the aggrieved parties ultimately thought it wise to declare themselves satisfied. No doubt the much-discussed volume contained some pages which were not La Rochefoucauld's work, but the passages which concerned Madame de Longueville, and several others which aroused great resentment, were incontestably his, since not only does the excellence of the style betray his hand, but he alone could have possessed the necessary knowledge. Moreover, in the manuscript which served for the text of the edition of Petitot, and which is undoubtedly authentic, nearly all these passages are reproduced, with some corrections.¹

Madame de Longueville would have been more than human had she not bitterly resented this cruel outrage, but her confessor bade her regard it as a severe but just punishment, and, after her first outburst of indignation, she suffered in silence. However, she appears to have declared her disbelief in the sincerity of La Rochefoucauld's denials, and we find the duke writing to Madame de Sablé, to profess his

¹ The most important differences between the disavowed edition and that of Petitot, so far as concerns Madame de Longueville, are the omission of the passage which describes her as so transforming herself into the sentiments of those who pleased her that she no longer recognised her own—which was a testimony to her disinterestedness and devotion—and the addition of several pages, in which the author relates, with rare effrontery, the sordid motives which prompted him to win her affection.

astonishment that "a woman who gives every day proofs of such extraordinary piety could have preferred to complain of him with bitterness, and to accuse him of having composed a work which he had not written, rather than accept the explanation which she [Madame de Sablé] had given her." But, as Madame de Sablé had assured him that the poor woman had soon resigned herself to the situation, and that she had no intention of taking any steps against him,¹ he adds: "I should much like to ascertain, through some person who, like you, understands the intricacies of the heart, what are her true feelings towards me. I mean to say, if she has ceased to hate me owing to the influence of devotion, or through lassitude, or because she has learned that I never committed the wrong which she believed."²

Presumably, he thought that, by analysing this wounded heart, he might discover some valuable material for his *Maximes*.

In May, 1663, the Duc de Longueville, who had

¹ Three years later, Madame de Longueville pardoned an even worse offence. Bussy-Rabutin having published his scandalous *Histoire amoureuse des Gaules*, in which he had slandered her and many other ladies of the Court in the most revolting manner, one of Condé's gentlemen, thinking to please his master, who was greatly exasperated by the attacks upon his sister and Madame de Châtillon, resolved to take a number of lackeys with him and administer a sound flogging to the author. Fortunately for the latter, Madame de Longueville, having learned what was intended, hastened to the Hôtel de Condé, and, with tears in her eyes, besought her brother to spare the delinquent.

² *Portefeuilles de Valant*, published by M. Bourdeau, *La Rochefoucauld*.

for some years past been in very indifferent health, died at Rouen. Since the marriage of his malicious daughter, Marie d'Orléans, with Henri de Savoie, Duc de Nemours, in 1657, he and his wife had lived very happily together, and his death seemed to have occasioned the latter genuine grief.

After her husband's death, Madame de Longueville resided more frequently in Paris, spending, as a rule, the whole of each winter there. She sold to the King the old Hôtel de Longueville, in the Rue des Poulies, the destruction of which was necessary to allow of the extension of the Louvre, and purchased an hôtel in the Rue Saint-Thomas-du-Louvre, which the Duc d'Epéron had recently acquired from Madame de Chevreuse, and which bore the name of the Hôtel de Longueville from 1664 to the end of the century. She had, also, like her mother before her, a lodging at the "*Grandes Carmélites*" to which she made frequent retreats; for, notwithstanding her adoption of Jansenist opinions, she had remained on the most affectionate terms with the good Sisters of the Rue Saint-Jacques, and, in particular, with its two great prioresses, Marie de Lancry de Bains (Marie-Madeleine de Jésus) and Judith de Bellefonds (Mère Agnès de Jésus-Maria), as well as with Condé's old love, Marthe du Vigan, who, however, died in 1665.

Her residence in Paris enabled her to take an active part in the controversy which divided the Church, in which it is probable that she breathed a little of the bellicose intoxication of the years of the

Fronde. Her hôtel, in fact, became the inner cabinet of the Jansenist party. It was here that the famous translation of the New Testament, known as *le Nouveau Testament de Mons*, which did so much to turn public opinion in favour of Port-Royal, underwent its final revision.¹ It was here that she discussed with Gondrin, Archbishop of Sens, and other prelates the complicated negotiations which ultimately led to a settlement. And it was here that Arnauld and Nicole found an asylum for more than five years from their persecutors.²

Several amusing incidents relieved a little the long retreat of Arnauld and Nicole at the Hôtel de Longueville. Here is one of them :

One day, Arnauld had an attack of fever, upon which Madame de Longueville summoned a doctor named Brayer, bidding him take very particular care of a gentleman who had been staying for some time with her—for both Arnauld and his fellow divine, of course, preserved the strictest incognito, and had exchanged their clerical dress for the attire of persons of rank : plumed hats, wigs, swords, and so forth. Having felt his patient's pulse and duly prescribed for him—or more probably bled him—Brayer began discussing the news of the day, and, among other things, mentioned a new theological work which was

¹ It was the work of five persons : Sacy, Antoine Arnauld, Le Maître, Nicole, and the Duc de Luynes. The chief credit belonged to Sacy.

² At different times, the Abbé de Lalane, Fontaine, the author of the *Mémoires*, and several other prominent Jansenists were sheltered by Madame de Longueville, either at her hôtel in Paris or in one or other of her country residences.

causing a considerable stir, and which was generally ascribed to "*ces messieurs*" of Port-Royal. "Some people attribute it to M. Arnauld," said he, "others to M. de Sacy; but I do not think it can be by the latter; he does not write so well." "What!" cried Arnauld, entirely forgetting the part he had assumed; "what do you say, Monsieur? My nephew writes better than I do myself?" Brayer left the room, laughing, and said to Madame de Longueville: "The gentleman's illness is nothing to worry about; but I should advise you to take care that he does not see any one. He must not be allowed to talk."

Although Madame de Longueville had the most intense admiration for Arnauld's piety and genius, Nicole appears to have been more to her taste as a guest, for the great leader of the Jansenists had had but little experience of the usages of polite society. Both, however, must have tried her indulgence somewhat severely at times. In their evening conversations, Arnauld had a tendency to fall asleep, in an attitude more comfortable than becoming; while Nicole was subject to fits of absent-mindedness, in which he did strange things. One day, while attending Madame de Longueville's toilette, he so far forgot what was due to the princess as to throw, on entering the room, his hat, cane, and gloves upon her bed. Perhaps, however, as Sainte-Beuve observes, she accepted all this as part of her penance.¹

¹ Sainte-Beuve, *Portraits de Femmes: Madame de Longueville*.



From an engraving by Edelinck after the painting by Philippe de Champagne.

ANTOINE ARNAULD.

The death of Alexander VII., who had been entirely governed by the Jesuits, gave Madame de Longueville an opportunity of which she was not slow to take advantage. The new pontiff, Clement IX., was a man of far more liberal views, who was sincerely desirous of reconciling all differences in the Catholic Church, in order that Christendom might present a united front to the aggressions of Mahommedanism. At the suggestion of the Archbishop of Sens and Mlle. de Vertus, she addressed, on July 27, 1667, a long letter to the Pope, in which she explained, with admirable clearness and moderation, the deplorable differences which divided the Church of France, and drew a moving picture of the piety, the heroism, and the miseries of the nuns of Port-Royal. She gives a clever definition of the Jansenist party : "What I can say truthfully, is that it is at once the greatest and the smallest party in the world, the strongest and the weakest." The smallest and the weakest, she goes on to explain, because "it is nominally composed of a dozen pious and able theologians who have been persecuted for twenty years ;" the greatest and the strongest, because "almost all intelligent people in France, not only among the theologians, but also among the bishops," entertain the same opinions, though, from fear of persecution, they hesitate to declare themselves. She concludes by an eloquent appeal to Clement IX.'s well-known kindness of heart on behalf of the unfortunate Sisters of Port-Royal : "I conclude by the petition I have

already made to your Holiness on behalf of these good nuns. I am willing to hope that the bowels of his paternal mercy will be moved, and that, regarding them with a compassionate eye as his very humble daughters, he will dry their tears and close their wounds. I entreat this of him, in the name of Him whom he represents on earth."

This letter was accompanied by another to Cardinal Azzolini, the Secretary of State, begging him to be the intercessor of Port-Royal with his Holiness.

Although Madame de Longueville had been guilty of considerable exaggeration when she informed the Pope that almost all intelligent people in France secretly held Jansenist opinions, the movement had undoubtedly made great progress during the past few years, particularly among the upper classes. This was, no doubt, partly attributable to that love of novelty, always so powerful in France; Jansenism had, in fact, become the mode, just as, for a brief period, at the time of the Colloquy of Poissy, in 1562, Calvinism was the fashionable religion, and the ladies of the Court sang the Psalms of Marot and crowded to hear Beza preach; and the example of Madame de Longueville, Madame de Sablé, Madame de Guéménée, and other leaders of society, found numerous imitators. Moreover, if a majority of the educated classes did not actually hold Jansenist opinions, the cruel persecution to which Port-Royal had been subjected had aroused widespread sympathy

among them, and there was a considerable party among the clergy, who, while very far indeed from endorsing the views of Arnauld and Pavillon, favoured a compromise, from dread of the increasing power of the Jesuits.

Into the long and tortuous negotiations of the next twelve months we do not propose to enter. It will be sufficient to observe that it was largely owing to the exertions of Madame de Longueville that a settlement was at last concluded. The negotiations were carried on with the most profound secrecy. The letter of submission to the Pope, which was the basis of the peace, was drawn up, at the Hôtel de Longueville, by Arnauld and Nicole, in conjunction with the Archbishop of Sens, and Vialart, Bishop of Châlons, who acted as mediators, and signed by the former prelate on behalf of the four recalcitrant bishops.¹ The text was communicated to Louvois's brother the Abbé Le Tellier, Colbert, and Lionne, all of whom favoured a settlement, and then to Louis XIV. and the Nuncio. The Nuncio signified his approval, and, early in October, peace was assured by a Bull of the Pope and an edict of the King. "I send to acquaint you," writes Madame de Longueville to Madame de Sablé, "that MM. de Sens and de Châlons yesterday conducted M. Arnauld to the Nuncio, who received him admirably well. MM. de Lalane and Nicole

¹ The bishops undertook to order the clergy and nuns in their respective dioceses to sign the "*Formulaire*," but to each signatory was reserved the right of having an explanation of why he, or she, signed taken down in writing.

were also there. This is assuredly the seal of the peace. The matter is public.”¹

Not until the promulgation of the Bull and the King's edict did the Jesuits learn of the settlement that had been arrived at, and great was their wrath. Père Annat, Louis XIV.'s confessor, reproached the Nuncio with “having destroyed by a quarter of an hour's weakness the work of twenty years,” and assured the King that it meant the ruin of both religion and the State. To which his Majesty coldly replied: “As to what concerns religion, that is the Pope's affair: if he is satisfied, you and I ought to be also. As to what concerns my State, I advise you not to trouble yourself about that. I shall know very well how to do what is necessary.”²

For some time, the nuns of Port-Royal firmly refused to accept the “*Formulaire*,” notwithstanding the new conditions; but at length they yielded, though Jacqueline Pascal is said to have died of a broken heart because, at the bidding of her superiors, she had signed the obnoxious document, in spite of her conscientious objections. In February, 1669, the interdict under which Port-Royal had lain was raised, but the heroic recalcitrants were not allowed to return to their monastery, notwithstanding the efforts of Condé, who endeavoured to secure it for them, by hinting to Hardouin de Péréfixe, Archbishop of Paris,

¹ *Portefeuilles de Valant*, Bibliothèque Nationale, published by Victor Cousin, *Madame de Sablé*.

² M. Victor du Bled, *la Société française du XVI^e siècle au XX^e siècle: la Société et Port-Royal*.

that his sister wished to retire to it altogether.¹ They were compelled to migrate to Port-Royal-des-Champs, to which one half of the total revenues of the two monasteries was allocated ; while some dozen Sisters of more orthodox views were installed in the Paris house, in the enjoyment of the remainder of the temporalities. Henceforth, the latter ceased to be, in any characteristic sense, Port-Royal ; and, towards the end of Louis XIV.'s reign, the discipline became so lax, that balls in the mother-superior's parlour were not unknown.²

The courage and ability displayed by Madame de Longueville in securing the Peace of the Church—it was a peace, unhappily, which terminated with her life—greatly enhanced the already high esteem in which, notwithstanding the calumnies of La Rochefoucauld and Bussy-Rabutin, she was now generally held. Louis XIV. praised her publicly, and to the end of her days treated her with the utmost consideration ;³

¹ Mrs. Cock, "Madame de Longueville."

² The nuns complained to the Archbishop of Paris that their revenues were insufficient for their needs, and demanded that the temporalities of the two monasteries should be readjusted. To which the prelate replied: "It is unjust that Port-Royal-de-Paris should give balls, and that Port-Royal-des-Champs should pay for the music."

³ Louis XIV. is said to have been greatly impressed in the lady's favour by the following incident. One day, Madame de Longueville, having failed to obtain some favour from the King for one of her *protégés*, was so mortified that she permitted some expressions to escape her "very indiscreet and but little respectful, to say no more." These, having been overheard, were duly reported to the King, who inquired of Condé whether his sister had really uttered the words attributed to her. *Monsieur le Prince* declared that it was impossible. "I will believe her, if she says so herself," rejoined the King. Thereupon, Condé hastened to the Hôtel de Longueville, and "strove for

indeed, there can be little doubt that the tranquillity which Port-Royal enjoyed so long as the princess lived was almost entirely due to the respect which he entertained for her. The members of the persecuted community which she had saved showered blessings upon her; and its ingenuous historian Fontaine, in concluding his account of the long negotiations which paved the way for the peace of 1669, exclaims, in the effusion of his gratitude: "Render, O my God, a hundredfold to Thy servant all that she did for Thy glory, for the welfare of Thy Church, and for Thy most humble servants. She prepared herself for this great work by withdrawing into her house those who sustained Thy truth. She concealed under her wings those who were sought for everywhere; her name was as a buckler which parried all the darts which they endeavoured to launch against them. . . . Thou hast, without doubt, written the reward of this princess in Heaven, where I shall presently behold it, and Thou waitest for Thy great day to overwhelm her with the glory which she has justly merited for her good works. . . . She suffered in patience the insults of the proud. She knew the

a whole afternoon to persuade his sister that, in such a circumstance, sincerity would be the height of folly." But Madame de Longueville refused to exonerate herself by a lie, and, having obtained an audience of the King, threw herself at his feet and implored his forgiveness. "And the King," adds the chronicler, "by an action still more heroic, not only willingly pardoned her, but bestowed on her some favours she did not expect to receive; and she was inclined to believe that he treated her henceforth with more consideration and kindness than before."—Bourgoing de Villefore.

scornful things which were said of her, and people did not blush to call her the shame and the ignominy of the Royal Family. You will cause them to see that she was its ornament ; and Saint-Louis, without doubt, will not blush for her in Heaven.”¹

¹ *Mémoires de Fontaine.*

CHAPTER XXVI

Madame de Longueville's two sons, the Comte de Dunois and the Comte de Saint-Paul—Endeavours of Condé and all her friends to persuade the princess to compel the Comte de Dunois, who is half-witted, to enter the Church, in order to transfer the dukedom to his younger brother—Resistance of Madame de Longueville—Her correspondence with *Monsieur le Prince* and Madame de Sablé on this matter—The Comte de Dunois escapes to Rome and enters the priesthood, and the Comte de Saint-Paul becomes Duc de Longueville—Grief of Madame de Longueville at the indifference shown by her younger son towards her, and at his irregular life—She endeavours to arrange a marriage between him and *la Grande Mademoiselle*—The young Duc de Longueville becomes a candidate for the crown of Poland—His death at the Passage of the Rhine—Despair of Madame de Longueville—Her touching letter to the Abbé de Saint-Cyran—Legitimation of the Duc de Longueville's natural son, Charles Louis d'Orléans—Madame de Longueville withdraws almost entirely from the world—Her humility—Her death—Her body is interred in the Church of the Carmelites of the Rue Saint-Jacques, and her heart bequeathed to Port-Royal—Persecution of Port-Royal resumed—Appreciation of Madame de Longueville by the Marquis de Pontchâteau.

THE pacification of the Church may be considered as the close of Madame de Longueville's public life. Henceforth she lived more and more in retirement, her religious duties and charities¹ occupying the

¹ The sums she dispensed in charity were immense. She despatched agents into Champagne and other provinces into which she had carried civil war, to make reparation wherever possible for the losses which the population had suffered; and one severe winter she and the Princesse de Conti are said to have supported nearly all the poor of Berry.

greater part of her time, though she claims, in a letter to Condé, to have done her sons considerable service by her judicious management of the family estates.

Madame de Longueville was tenderly attached to her children, who, however, were anything but joys to her. Indeed, the anxiety and vexation she suffered on their account must have constituted a far more severe form of penance than any which she voluntarily underwent. Her eldest son, Jean Louis Charles d'Orléans, born in 1646, was feeble in both body and mind; and the Duc de Longueville, perceiving that he was unfitted to become a soldier—the Church and the Army were the only careers open in those days to the sons of the nobility—and still less fitted to succeed him in the government of Normandy,¹ and in the large estates of the House of Longueville, decided that it would be best for him to take Holy Orders and become a Jesuit, which would involve his renunciation of his inheritance in favour of his younger brother, the Comte de Saint-Paul. Madame de Longueville strongly opposed this step, and the Jesuits themselves advised delay; but the duke was firm, and the Comte de Dunois entered the Order as a novice.

On the death of the Duc de Longueville, in April, 1663, the Comte de Dunois, who was now in his eighteenth year, instead of continuing in the career

¹ The Duc de Longueville had obtained the reversion of the government of Normandy for his sons, in recognition of his neutrality during the Fronde of the Princes,

which had been chosen for him, and which he appears to have hitherto accepted without demur, declared his intention to abandon it and take his place as his father's heir. Great was the consternation among his relatives at this announcement. Condé told his sister that it was her duty to insist upon this unfortunate lad, who, if he appeared at Court and in society, would bring nothing but discredit upon the family, remaining with the Jesuits, so that the dukedom and all its advantages might be transferred to the Comte de Saint-Paul, a handsome, quick-witted boy, who promised to make as good a figure in the great world as his brother did the reverse; and all her friends were of the same advice.

But Madame de Longueville, although she recognised the force of their arguments, refused to coerce her son. She sympathised deeply with him in his affliction, and still cherished the hope that, as he grew older, his mind would grow stronger. To compel him to enter Holy Orders, without even the pretence of a vocation, seemed to her an act of sacrilege, and, with her Jansenist prejudices, she had always strongly disapproved of his becoming a Jesuit. Finally, she was aware that the birth of her younger son, in 1649, in the midst of her *liaison* with La Rochefoucauld, had given rise to very unpleasant rumours—which many contemporary writers and several historians believe to have been but too well founded—and she was naturally extremely reluctant to sacrifice the acknowledged heir of the Duc de Longueville to

one upon whose legitimacy the world looked with so much suspicion. She even declined to be a party to a proposal that he should surrender the principality of Neufchâtel to the Comte de Saint-Paul, and, in a letter to Madame de Sablé, expresses herself with an energy which certainly seems to add weight to the rumours mentioned :

“They demand for the Comte de Saint-Paul unjust and impracticable things, such as to arrange that my son should give him Neufchâtel. Consider if I can in honour and conscience propose such a thing to him, and even from the point of view of policy, after all that has been said about me. But all must perish, provided that the Comte de Saint-Paul reigns. He is now their idol ; by the grace of God, he is not mine.”

After long hesitation, she finally decided that the Comte de Dunois should leave the Jesuits and live with her, without being forced to choose between the Church and the Army, which latter profession Condé had insisted he should adopt, if he desired to renounce Holy Orders and assume his fathers' titles and offices. “My son does not wish to be a priest,” she writes to *Monsieur le Prince*, on July 23, 1664, “and I will not force him to become one. He wishes to leave the Jesuits, but this intention does not make another man of him. Accordingly, he cannot make up his mind to go to the academy [that is to say, to be trained for the Army] ; and I confess that, even if he did desire it, I should prefer him to die than

to expose him to the world in his present condition, and, at the same time, to expose him to Madame his sister, who is a danger to him.¹ And in another letter she writes :

MADAME DE LONGUEVILLE TO THE PRINCE DE
CONDÉ.

"CHÂTEAUDUN,
"July 29, 1664.

"It is certain that he (the Comte de Dunois) is as little competent to come to a decision now as if he were only six years old, for which reason, do not imagine that I could attach any importance to anything he might say in regard to the Church ; for it would be perfectly monstrous to take him at his word, since he has no more devotion nor education than a newborn child. If he were to take Holy Orders, he would give them up six months later, and he would be the more enraged against us for having compelled him to take them. . . . As for the Army, nothing is easier than to propose to him all that you desire ; but he has neither sufficient strength of mind nor enough courage to render him fitted for that profession. . . . As for the proposition to give his property to the Comte

¹ Marie d'Orléans, Duchesse de Nemours. The dislike with which this lady had always regarded her step-mother seems to have increased rather than diminished as years went by ; and, from the latter's letters, it is evident that Madame de Nemours was doing her utmost to injure her. Madame de Longueville feared that, if the Comte de Dunois were to leave her protection, his half-sister would succeed in obtaining influence over his feeble and credulous mind, and use it to turn him against his mother.

de Saint-Paul, permit me to tell you that that will be practicable when he is twenty-five years of age, for earlier it will not hold good, and it is certain that he will make every imaginable objection. He has been told so many times that we desire to promote his brother at his expense, that it would be to give him a proof of it, were we to despoil him before he is of age, before we are convinced that there will be no alteration in him—that is to say, that it is impossible for him to become an ordinary man. To conclude, for this reason, I will never consent to it while I live. . . . In God's name, let us exercise a little patience. If there is an alteration in him, so much the better for us ; if there is no alteration, we shall be in a position to propose to him, when the time comes, everything that we shall judge to be for the best. . . .”¹

Thus valiantly did Madame de Longueville espouse the cause of her unfortunate elder son ; and everything that her loving care and tenderness could devise was done for him. At times there seems to have been a ray of hope. “That poor elder son of mine,” she writes to Madame de Sablé, “has become as docile as a sheep, in regard to all my wishes. He has certainly a fund of good sense, but that is confined to trivial matters.” And again : “My son is making progress in his studies ; his tutor is satisfied with him.

¹ *Portefeuilles de Valant*, published by Victor Cousin, *Madame de Sablé*.

He says that this shapeless lump will expand." But, in the end, all her efforts proved fruitless ; and, one day, the Comte de Dunois escaped from his mother's house and fled to Rome, where he re-entered the Jesuits, and, in 1669, took priest's Orders, which permitted his younger brother to succeed to the dukedom and the family estates. Three years later, the mind of the Abbé d'Orléans, as he was now called, gave way altogether, and he remained insane, though with occasional lucid intervals, until his death, in 1694.

Charles Paris d'Orléans, Comte de Saint-Paul, who thus became Duc de Longueville, possessed all the advantages which his brother lacked. Nevertheless, for some years, he was a source of great trouble and anxiety to his mother. Spoiled from his childhood by every one, he grew up a vain, self-willed, pleasure-loving lad, while his apparent want of affection for her caused Madame de Longueville the deepest grief. He neglected her sadly ; and, when she was absent from Paris, it was seldom that he condescended to pay her even the shortest of visits, and then usually only as the result of a remonstrance from Madame de Sablé, to whom he was much attached. When in his mother's presence, too, he was cold and ill at ease ; and the poor woman seems to have attributed his indifference to the fact that the story of her former relations with La Rochefoucauld, and the scandal concerning his birth, had reached his ears.

Madame de Longueville did not complain to her



CHARLES PARIS D'ORLÉANS, DUC DE LONGUEVILLE.

From an engraving after the painting by Ferdinand.

son ; but to Madame de Sablé she reveals all the bitterness of her heart.

MADAME DE LONGUEVILLE TO MADAME DE SABLÉ.

"COULOMMIERS,

"17 November, 1666.

"The Comte de Saint-Paul arrived yesterday evening. Nothing can equal his coldness towards me. He did not attempt to justify his neglect. It is an incredible embarrassment for him to find something to say to me ; nor, after great efforts, does he find anything, save matters so trivial, that they might be said just as well to his lackey as to myself. He appears to be intensely bored when in my company. . . . In short, it is an alteration which would astonish me much, if I had not foreseen it for a long while. He issues orders about everything without consulting me, and I am persuaded that soon he will be very pleased to be the master. . . . It is very hard to receive such treatment from the Comte de Saint-Paul. All that God ordains is just ; but, however submissive I may be to His will, I confess that I am anxious to be far away from them all,¹ and to deliver them and myself, also, from the embarrassments which result from my being obliged to meddle with their affairs."

After completing his education, the Comte de Saint-Paul entered the Army. He served with some distinction in Flanders in 1667, and in Franche-Comté,

¹ Her two sons and their relatives.

under his uncle Condé, in the following year. In 1669, he joined, with a number of other young nobles, the expedition to Candia, where he displayed conspicuous ability, as well as the most dauntless courage, and gained the esteem and affection of all his comrades. "There was not seen a man so beloved, so esteemed, so applauded among these youths, so well informed in all matters, and with so great a reputation for valour."¹ On his return to Paris, his brilliant reputation and his handsome face made him the idol of the ladies, a position which seems to have been only too much to his taste, for Madame de Longueville writes to Madame de Sablé that her son was "spoiling during the winter what he had accomplished during the summer."

After his succession to the family title, the indifference which the young man had hitherto shown towards his mother, and which was, no doubt, partly attributable to the firm refusal of the latter to allow his elder brother to be sacrificed to him, was no longer so marked; and ultimately he appears to have reciprocated, to some extent at least, the tender affection which she lavished upon him. In other respects, however, his conduct caused her the deepest distress. He led a very irregular life, and, among other intrigues, engaged in one with "a woman of quality whose husband was living,"² by whom he had a son, Charles Louis d'Orléans, Chevalier de Longueville, to whom we shall have occasion to refer again.

¹ Saint-Simon, *Mémoires*.

² The wife of the Maréchal de la Ferté-Senneterre.

Madame de Longueville decided that an early marriage was much to be desired for her son, and accordingly began to look about for a suitable wife, who might wean him from the temptations which surrounded him, and ensure the continuance of his race. She cast her eyes upon *Mademoiselle* ; but that lady was far too much occupied with her secret passion for Lauzun to entertain the proposal. Notwithstanding the great disparity in age, Madame de Longueville appears to have been exceedingly anxious for this match, for, after the disgrace of the aspiring Lauzun, she returned to the charge. But *Mademoiselle*, faithful to her imprisoned lover, again declined the honour.

A brilliant prospect, however, now opened before the young duke.

When, in 1669, John Casimir, King of Poland, abdicated his elective throne, a strong party in the Diet desired to offer the vacant crown to the Prince de Condé ; and their wishes would probably have prevailed, had not Louis XIV. feared that the elevation of a French prince might alarm the Northern Powers, and interfere with his designs on the Flanders and Holland. "My cousin," said he, "think no more, I pray you, of the Crown of Poland ; the interest of my State is concerned in it." Condé obeyed, though not without reluctance, and the choice of the Diet fell upon Michael Wisniowiecki. This feeble personage having quickly proved his utter incapacity for grappling with the difficulties that beset his throne, Condé's friends in Poland again addressed themselves

to him. The prince declined the crown for himself, but offered them his nephew, the young Duc de Longueville, whom they accepted with enthusiasm. Madame de Longueville, intensely ambitious for her beloved son, took upon herself the task of obtaining the King's consent ; and this time Louis XIV., although he appears to have viewed the project with some disapproval, did not oppose the elevation of the Condés. "I am very anxious not to delay any longer in acquainting you," writes the proud mother to Madame de Sablé, "that the King received me as I could desire, and that he gave his consent to my proposition, as one might expect from his justice."

But alas ! Charles d'Orléans was never to wear the uneasy crown of the Jagellons. While awaiting his summons to Poland, where, in the spring of 1672, John Sobieski declared in his favour and carried the Diet with him, he accompanied Louis XIV. on his invasion of Holland. On June 12, when the much-vaunted Passage of the Rhine took place, the duke crossed the river in a boat, in company with Condé and the Duc d'Enghien ; while their horses and some mounted gentlemen of *Monsieur le Prince's* suite swam after them. On reaching the bank, they perceived a detachment of Dutch infantry, whose retreat had been cut off, entrenching themselves behind hedges and barricades. Springing on his horse, Longueville, followed by the Duc d'Enghien and some other impetuous young men, galloped furiously towards them ; and Condé called to them in vain to return.

The Dutch cried out that they desired to surrender, and some of them even laid down their arms ; but Longueville, either unable or unwilling to understand them, and believing that he had found a spot where the barricade might be forced, drove his horse at it, firing his pistol and crying to his followers : “ Kill ! Kill, and give no quarter ! ” The enemy replied with a volley, and the duke fell dead from his saddle, pierced by five musket-balls. Condé, who, on seeing his nephew fall, rode at full speed to the spot, had his left wrist broken by a pistol-shot from a Dutch officer.¹

The body of the ill-fated young man, covered by a cloak, was carried to a fisherman's hut, where Condé himself had proceeded, so soon as his wound had been attended to. Great as was the pain he suffered, it appears to have troubled him little, in comparison with the irreparable loss which his sister and all the family had sustained ; and his grief was increased, when, that same evening, he was visited by envoys from Poland, who had crossed Germany to make the Duc de Longueville a formal offer of the crown, and to conduct him to Danzig, where the grandees of the kingdom awaited him. “ They came to seek a king ; and found only a corpse.”

Madame de Sévigné, who had been herself a prey to great anxiety for the safety of her only son, who was also with the army, has described for us the grief of the heartbroken mother when the fatal tidings reached her.

¹ Pellisson, *Lettres historiques*. Duc d'Aumale, *Histoire des Princes de Condé*.

MADAME DE SÉVIGNÉ TO MADAME DE GRIGNAN.

“PARIS,

“June 20, 1672.

“The condition of Madame de Longueville is, they say, heartrending. I have not seen her, but this is what I know. Mlle. de Vertus had returned two days before to Port-Royal, where she spends nearly all her time. She was sent for, together with M. Arnauld, to impart this terrible news. Mlle. de Vertus had only to show herself ; a return so sudden portended something fatal. In fact, so soon as she appeared : ‘Ah ! Mademoiselle, how is Monsieur my brother [Condé] ?’ Her thoughts dared travel no further. ‘Madame, his wound is getting on well.’ ‘There has, then, been a fight ? And my son ?’ They made no reply. ‘Ah ! Mademoiselle, my son, my dear child ; answer me, is he dead ?’ ‘Madame, I have no words to answer you.’ ‘Ah ! my dear son, did he die on the spot ? Had he not a single moment ? Ah, *mon Dieu* ! What a sacrifice !’ And thereupon she fell on her bed, and in every way that the most lively grief can manifest itself—in convulsions, in swoonings, in deadly silence, in stifled cries, in bitter tears, in appeals to Heaven, in tender and pitiful lamentations—she experienced them all. She sees certain people ; she takes some broth, because it is the will of God. She has no repose ; her health, always so bad, is visibly affected. As for me, I wish that she may die, since I cannot understand how she can live after such a loss.”

And, a week later, she writes again :

MADAME DE SÉVIGNÉ TO MADAME DE GRIGNAN.

"PARIS,

"June 27, 1672.

"At last I have seen Madame de Longueville, and chance placed me near her bed. She made me come closer to her still, and spoke to me first, for, as for me, I knew not what to say at such a moment. She told me that she did not doubt that I pitied her ; that nothing was wanting in her calamity. She spoke of Madame de la Fayette and M. d'Hacqueville as of those who had the most compassion for her. She spoke of my son, and of the affection her son had entertained for him. I do not tell you what my answers were ; they were as they should be ; and, in good faith, I was so moved, that I could not speak amiss."

Madame de Longueville's only consolation in her overwhelming sorrow—though that must have been no inconsiderable one—was her discovery that, before setting out for his last campaign, her son had been secretly converted, and that he had made a general confession to a Jansenist priest, and distributed immense sums in charity. This happy persuasion¹ gave her strength to reply to some of the letters of condolence

¹ Sainte-Beuve appears to be somewhat sceptical about the truth of this report: "*Ce fut une sorte de douceur dernière et bien permise,*" he remarks. It seems highly improbable, however, that an austere Jansenist priest would have invented such a story, even out of consideration for Madame de Longueville.

which had reached her. Here is one addressed to the Abbé de Saint-Cyran :

MADAME DE LONGUEVILLE TO THE ABBÉ DE
SAINT-CYRAN.

“ PORT-ROYAL,
“ 24 *July* [1672].

“I know too well your kindness to be in doubt as to your feelings in the sad circumstances which have obliged you to write to me ; and I am persuaded that you have asked God to subdue me entirely to His will, however hard it has seemed to my nature. Yet I see clearly that it is full of mercy, and that I only deserved that God should break my worldly ties, since they were more dear to me than I myself believed, which is proved by the grief which the loss of him whom He has taken from me occasions me. It appears, by the inclinations which he [her son] evinced before his departure for the army, that He has regarded him in His mercy as well as myself, added to which he has terminated his life, not only at its beginning, but also at the moment when he was about to be elevated in a manner so extraordinary, that it was much to be feared that the love of the world would take possession of his heart and fill it entirely. I presume that you are aware that he was on the eve of becoming King of Poland. If God, in depriving him of his life and the hope of a crown, has had mercy upon him, He has given him more than He has taken away. Thus, it only remains to

adore His will towards both my son and myself; it is just, as is everything which emanates from the dispositions of His providence. I entreat you to ask for me an entire submission to all His desires, and an inward detachment from the world, corresponding to that which He affects outwardly by the overthrow of my family. Your kindness will not refuse me this favour, and so much the more, since no one can reverence your virtue and merit more sincerely than I do.

“ANNE DE BOURBON.

“I ask your prayers for the repose of my son’s soul, and for the needs of Monsieur my brother, as well as for those of my nephews, the Princes de Conti.”¹

By his will, Longueville left a considerable part of his fortune to his natural son, Charles Louis d’Orléans, already mentioned; and, at the same time, requested his mother to use her influence with the King to obtain the legitimation of the boy, in order that he might be capable of benefiting by the bequest. As the document in question contained no mention of Madame de la Ferté, or of any other lady, and no precedent existed for issuing letters of legitimation in which the mother was not named, Madame de Longueville probably anticipated serious difficulty in carrying out her dead son’s wishes. But, to her relief,

¹ Published by Victor Cousin, *Madame de Sablé*.

Louis XIV. raised no objection whatever, the fact being that he himself had been, for some time past, very desirous of legitimating his own children by Madame de Montespan, *without naming the mother*,¹ but shrank from creating a precedent for his own convenience; and nothing, in consequence, could have been more opportune for him than Madame de Longueville's petition. No one could accuse him of any ulterior motive in granting the last request of a gallant soldier, a Prince of the Blood, cut off in the flower of his youth, in the service of his King and country; and no one could blame him if he chose to follow what would henceforth no doubt be a common practice. Accordingly, on September 7, 1673, letters-patent were issued legitimating Longueville's son, under the name of the Chevalier d'Orléans, *without naming the mother*, and duly ratified by the Parlement. Three months later (December 20, 1673), the gentlemen of the long robe were called upon to register a similar document, in which his Majesty declared that "the affection with which Nature inspired him for his children, and many other reasons, which served to augment considerably these sentiments, compelled him

¹ This was not from any motive of delicacy, but because, as Madame de Montespan's husband had never repudiated these children, they were, in the eyes of the law, his, and therefore legitimate already; and to have named the mother would have been to reduce the affair to a farce. On the other hand, Louis was intensely anxious to have the children recognised as his own, since he had reason to believe that the Marquis de Montespan, by way of revenge upon his Majesty and his faithless wife, contemplated appealing to the courts to have the children delivered up to him, which would have resulted in a terrible scandal.

to recognise Louis Auguste, Louis César, and Louise Françoise."

The first was styled Duc du Maine ; the second, Comte de Vexin ; and the third, Demoiselle de Nantes.

The Chevalier d'Orléans entered the Army, and had already given proof of inheriting his father's valour, when his career was cut short at the siege of Philippsburg, in 1688.

After the tragic death of her son, Madame de Longueville withdrew almost entirely from the world. She quitted her hôtel in the Rue Saint-Thomas-du-Louvre, and built herself a little house at Port-Royal-des-Champs, between which and her apartment at the "*Grandes Carmélites*"¹ she henceforth divided her time. She was at the Carmelites when Louise de la Vallière took the veil, and Bossuet preached that moving sermon from the text : "Behold, I make all things new ;" and it was here, a little later, that she saw arrive the heart of the great Turenne—"that heart which alas ! she had once troubled."²

"The true crown of Madame de Longueville in these years," observes Sainte-Beuve, "that which one

¹ Her apartment at the Carmelites was as comfortless as those of the nuns themselves, and she lived practically the same austere life as they. "The Maréchale d'Humières," writes Bourgoing de Villefore, "who, after the death of the princess, occupied her lodging at the convent, said many times to her friends, pointing to the floor : 'This is where Madame de Longueville used to sleep on the bare ground, for in those days there were no boards laid down.'"

² Sainte-Beuve, *Portraits de Femmes*. Turenne was killed by a cannon-shot, at Salzbach, in July, 1675. His heart was bequeathed to the Carmelites.

ought the more to revere, inasmuch as she did not perceive it, and covered it, as it were, with both hands, is the crown of humility. That is her Christian glory, which her inevitable failings ought not to obscure. Many touching instances of this are reported. She had enemies, those who envied her : remarks hurtful, or even insulting, reached her. She endured all, and she said to God : ‘Strike again !’ One day, while going in a chair from the Carmelites to Saint-Jacques-du-Haut-Pas, she was approached by an officer, who demanded of her some favour or other. She replied that she was unable to grant it, whereupon this man lost his temper, and indulged in the most insolent language.¹ Her people would have thrown themselves upon him. ‘Stop !’ cried she to them ; ‘do him no harm. I have deserved far worse.’ ”²

Towards the end of her life, Madame de Longueville suffered much from ill-health, a circumstance no doubt, in great part, attributable to the excessive asceticism

¹ “ *Il haussa la voix et lui fit de longs reproches sur le passé dans les termes les plus insolens.* ”—Bourgoing de Villefore.

² This anecdote reminds us of a very similar one which is told of Madame de Mailly, the first *maîtresse déclarée* of Louis XV. After being discarded by that monarch in favour of her younger sister, Madame de la Tournelle (afterwards Duchesse de Châteauroux), Madame de Mailly “ flung herself into a great and estimable devotion,” and dispensed so much in charity, that she had barely sufficient left for the common necessities of life. Her piety and self-denial, however, did not always secure her immunity from insult. One day, happening to arrive rather late at the Church of Saint-Roch, some little disturbance was occasioned as she was conducted to the churchwarden’s pew, upon which an ill-conditioned fellow muttered, loud enough to reach her ears : “ Here’s a pretty fuss for a wanton ! ” “ Since you know her, pray for her,” was the gentle answer.

to which she always inclined, and which the confessor who had succeeded Sacy seems to have been quite incapable of restraining. Scarcely any trace of that dazzling beauty which had captivated so many hearts now remained to her; "her figure alone had preserved its grace."¹ She died on April 15, 1679, in her sixtieth year, "of a fever, which had been preceded by a very great lassitude lasting more than a year. It would have been impossible to die with greater sentiments of humility and more perfect trust in God."² Condé was with her at the last.

By a clause in her will, Madame de Longueville had directed that her body should be interred in the church of whichever of the two monasteries she happened to be residing in at the time of her death, and that her heart should be conveyed to the other. "God permitted," says the *Nécrologe de Port-Royal*, "that she should expire at the Carmelites, who have to be the guardians of her body, and we have the honour of possessing her heart, which has been wholly occupied with the love of God and with that of the Church."

A month after her death, the Archbishop of Paris, Harlay de Chanvalon, proceeded in person to Port-Royal-des-Champs, to communicate to the nuns an order from the King to send away their pensioners and postulants, and to forbid them to receive any in

¹ *Nouvelles Lettres de Madame, Duchesse d'Orléans.*

² Letter of Antoine Arnauld to the Landgrave of Hesse-Rhinfels, April 19, 1683, published by Sainte-Beuve, *Port-Royal*,

future. "They had only waited for the death of the princess," says Sainte-Beuve, "to begin the final blockade from which the celebrated monastery was to succumb. The Palladium was no longer in Troy."

The funeral oration of Madame de Longueville was preached, a year after her death, not alas ! by Bossuet—the princess's unorthodox theological views prevented this—but by Roquette, the mediocre Bishop of Autun, who was supposed to have been no stranger to the idea of *Tartuffe*, and was commonly believed to purchase his sermons. As some slight compensation for the loss of what could hardly have failed to be a masterpiece of pulpit oratory, we have several appreciations of the princess by Jansenist writers. Here is one, contained in two letters from the Marquis de Pontchâteau, one of the sternest of the Port-Royal "hermits," to his sister, the Duchesse d'Épernon, which Sainte-Beuve regards as "the most sincere and the most unanswerable testimony," and with which we may appropriately conclude our account of this remarkable woman's career :

"So Madame de Longueville has started for that long journey into Eternity from which no one returns. Deaths of this kind, deaths of persons of high rank in the world, and, above all, when they have lived in some intimacy with those who are gone, impress us for a short time ; but the impression soon passes, and we do not try to keep it. However, for a little while, nothing else will be talked about. I believe that she is among the blessed, and that God will have shown

her His mercy. She greatly loved His Church and the poor, which are the two objects of our charity on earth. . . .”

And, in the second letter, he writes :

“ I do not like exaggeration, but it must be confessed that there was much that was extraordinary in the penance of Madame de Longueville, for it is certain that, at the beginning of her penance, it was a very common practice for her to sleep on the bare ground, to use a scourge, and to wear an iron girdle ; and, as regards the mind, I know what few persons are aware of, and it was very humiliating for a person like her. It is not that I want to make her pass for a saint who has gone straight from this world to enjoy the presence of God ; all that passes in another world is hidden from us. But it is true that we shall see few people of her quality take up a life like hers, and remain steadfast to the end in the great truths of religion, in absolute disregard of self, which she showed even in her dress, and in an uniformity in respect to her essential duties, such as she always displayed. She had faults ; who is without them ? She saw and mourned over them ; that is all God requires of us.”

THE END

INDEX

Aiguillon, Duchesse d', 87, 112, 135-137, 233, 257, 284, 381, 383
 Ailly, Abbé d', 662
 Albert, Archduke of Austria, 16 note, 22, 27, 30, 31
 Albret, Henri Jules de Bourbon, Duc : *see* Enghien
 Alexander VII., Fabio Chigi, Pope, 197 and note, 198, 676
 Amsterdam, Madame de Longueville's visit to, 210, 211
 Ancre, Concino Concini, Maréchal d', 34, 37, 39, 40, 169, 293, 329
 Angennes, Angélique d', 88, 89, 93
 — Julie d' : *see* Montausier
 Angoulême, Diane de France, Duchesse d', 3 and note, 32
 Anjou, Philippe, Duc d', 62, 309, 608
 Annat, Père (confessor of Louis XIV.), 696
 Anne of Austria, Queen of France, married to Louis XIII., 36 ; presents the relics of a saint to the Carmelites, 68 ; anecdote of her and Voiture, 91 note ; becomes regent, 142 ; favours Beaufort, 147, 148 ; recalls Mesdames de Chevreuse and de Hautefort, 150 ; orders Madame de Montbazon to apologize for calumniating Madame de Longueville, 164 ; exiles her, 167, 168 ; abandons the "Importants," 170 ; exiles Mlle. de Hautefort, 171 ; her heart completely won by Mazarin, 225 ;

her treatment of La Rochefoucauld, 230-234 ; permits the assembly of the courts in the Chambre de Saint-Louis, 252 ; resolved to maintain the authority of her son, 267 ; orders the arrest of Broussel and Blancmesnil, 272, 273 ; breaks her word to Retz, 277, 278 ; her conduct on the "Day of the Barricades," 279-281 ; removes with the King to Rueil, 285 ; calls Condé her "*troisième fils*," 288 ; signs Declaration of Saint-Germain, 299 ; her duplicity, 295-297 ; her flight with the Court to Saint-Germain, 309, 310 ; distrusts Condé's loyalty, 316 ; interview with Madame de Longueville after the Peace of Rueil, 342-344 ; libelled by Retz's hired scribes, 349 ; returns to Paris, 353, 354 ; hostile to Madame de Longueville, 355 ; withdraws the *tabourets* granted to Mesdames de la Rochefoucauld and de Pons, 368 ; publicly rebukes the presumption of Jarzé, 380 ; indignant at the Duc de Richelieu's marriage, 382, 383 ; has nocturnal conferences with Retz, 383 ; conduct on the night of arrest of the princes, 387-390 ; resolves to arrest Madame de Longueville, 392-394 ; goes to Normandy, 406 ; orders Madame

- de Longueville to leave Dieppe, 409; sends Du Plessis-Bellièvre to arrest her, 409, 410; causes her to be declared guilty of high treason, 426; opposed to Retz's elevation to the cardinalate, 446; compelled to consent to Mazarin's dismissal and exile, 482; virtually a prisoner in the Palais-Royal, 494; maintains an active correspondence with Mazarin, 494; proposal to deprive her of the regency, 495; refuses to convene the States-General during the King's minority, 495-497; recalls Chavigny and dismisses Châteauneuf, 500, 501; negotiating with both parties, 515; confers with Retz, 530, 531; accused by the coadjutor of meditating the assassination of Condé, 532-535; assures Condé that she has no designs against his person, 539, 540; dismisses Le Tellier, Servien, and Lionne on the prince's demand, 547; concludes alliance with the Old Fronde, 550, 551; launches a declaration against Condé, 551, 552; withdraws her charges, 554; declares that "*Monsieur le Prince* or she must perish," 556; her proposals to Condé, 561 and note; goes to Berry, 565; "desires the welfare of the State above all things," 578; her joy at the return of Mazarin from Brühl, 578; returns to Paris, 607
- "Archdukes," the, 16 and note, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 26, 27 note
- Arnauld, Agnès, 678
- Angélique, "*la Grande Mère Angélique*," 678, 679
- Angélique de St. Jean, 678
- Arnauld, Antoine, 661, 678, 691 and note, 692, 696, 712
- Henri, Bishop of Angers, 677
- d'Andilly, 684
- de Corberville, 87, 479
- Augustinus*, the, of Cornelius Jansenius, 676, 677 note
- Aumale, Henri Eugène Philippe d'Orléans, Duc d' (cited), 6 note, 45 note, 49, 220, 262 note, 333, 334, 348, 373, 508, 528, 529, 555, 575 note, 603 note
- Avaux, Comte d', 193, 194, 207, 209, 214, 215, 216, 217
- Azzolini, Cardinal, 693
- Balagny (duellist), 180
- Balthazar, Colonel, 576, 614
- Balzac, 89 note, 105, 216
- Barillon, Président, 246
- Barine, Arvède (cited), 83
- Barrière (agent of Condé in England), 628
- Bartet (agent of Mazarin), 475 and note, 529
- Bassompierre, Baron (afterwards Maréchal) de, 4 and note, 5, 6
- Bastille, the, 40, 41, 42, 66, 307, 308, 602, 684
- Bazin (cited), 292
- Beaufort, Duc de, 129, 147, 148, 151, 163, 169, 170, 171, 251, 254, 259, 319, 338, 349, 351, 352, 354, 358, 362, 369, 373, 374 note, 375, 376, 377, 378, 379, 383, 391, 427, 435, 471, 472, 475, 479, 578, 582, 583 and note, 584, 589, 591, 603, 604, 605, 607
- Beaujeu, Madame de, 360
- Beauvais, Bishop of, 147, 149, 150, 170
- Bellefonds, Judith de, 65, 66, 432, 454, 690
- Bellegarde, Duc de, 2, 31
- Bellièvre, Président de, 359
- Benserade, 105-108

- Bentivoglio, Cardinal (cited), 3, 7, 21
- Bercenay (captain of La Rochefoucauld's guards), 586, 601
- Berthod, Père, his conspiracy at Bordeaux, 630-633
- Bérulle, Cardinal de, 57, 59, 60
- Beuvron, Marquis de, 181, 386, 395, 398
- Bignon (advocate-general), 375
- Blancmesnil, Président, 273
- Boileau, 93, 103, 109
- Bois-Robert, 91, 94, 112
- Bossuet, 717; (cited) 65, 648
- Bougeant, Père (cited), 197, 198 note
- Bouillon, Duc de, 319, 320, 389, 428-430, 432, 440, 442, 523, 539, 541, 559, 573, 590
- Éléonore de Fébronie de Bergh, Duchesse de, 321, 322, 323, 340, 505
- Marianne Mancini, Duchesse de, 114, 544
- Bourdeau, M. (cited), 228, 229, 275, 601, 686
- Bourges, Jesuit college at, 49-54
- Bourgoing de Villefore (cited), 56, 77, 78, 128, 414, 648, 697 note, 717, 718
- Breauté, Marquise de (Mère Marie Madeleine de Jésus), 61, 62
- Brégy, Madame de, 661 and note
- Brézé, Armand de Maillé, Duc de, 122, 258, 259, 357
- Maréchal de, 122
- Bridieu, Marquis de, 184, 185, 434
- Brienne, Comte de, 118, 388, 393, 394
- Comtesse de, 118, 454
- Marie Antoinette de: *see* Gamaches, Marquise de
- Broussel (counsellor of the Parlement), 273, 274, 280, 281, 286, 302, 304, 373, 552, 607
- Brulart de Berny (French Ambassador at Brussels), 19
- Bus, César de, 57
- Bussy-Rabutin, 87, 689, 697, (cited) 285
- Calvimont, Madame de (mistress of the Prince de Conti), 613 note, 642
- Candale, Duc de, 428 note, 616, 617, 643
- Cardenas, Don Inigo de (Spanish Ambassador in Paris), 17, 25
- Carmelites, the, 58-60
- of the "*Grand Couvent*" in Paris, 59-70, 75-77, 79, 80, 204, 205, 431, 674, 690, 717, 718, 719
- Carnets*, Mazarin's, 297, 373
- Castelnaudary, Battle of, 71
- Catalonia, Condé's campaign in, 260-263
- Catherine de' Medici, 33
- Caumartin, 480 note, 508 note
- Chalais, 259, 534
- Chamboy, Marquis de, 405, 407, 410, 411
- Chambre de Saint-Louis, union of the courts in, 250-252, 264-271
- Chantilly, Château of, 74 and note, 94, 113-120, 196, 352, 355, 427, 527
- Chapeau Rouge*, the, at Bordeaux, 622-624
- Chapelain, 89, 109, 110
- Charenton, engagement at, 326, 327
- Charles I., King of England, 72
- IV., Duc de Lorraine, 175, 597, 598, 605, 606
- IX., King of France, 132
- Charpy (poet), 119
- Charton, Président, 371
- Châteauneuf, Marquis de, 150, 171, 287, 297, 494, 499, 501, 510, 550, 551, 565, 566, 578, 579, 581
- Châtillon, Duc de, 116, 327, 328, 453
- Duchesse de, 113, 118, 119, 121, 327, 328, 428, 453, 454, 518, 559, 589, 593, 594, 595

- Chavigny, Marquis de, 287, 499, 501
- Chéruel, Adolphe (cited), 252, 266, 439, 528
- Chevalier (advocate at Bordeaux), hanged by the *Ormée*, 634
- Chevaroché, fights duel with Voiture, 93, 94
- Chevreuse, Duc de, 378 note
- Duchesse de, 150, 151, 164, 166, 167, 169, 230, 233, 254, 350, 352, 377-379, 445-447, 486, 493, 503, 513, 514, 515, 530, 532, 533, 534, 535, 550, 581, 598
- Mlle. de, 378 and note, 466-469, 493, 503-513, 514, 550, 551, 581 note, 601, 611
- Chigi, Cardinal Fabio: *see* Alexander VII., Pope
- Chouppes, Marquis de, 638, 639
- Cinq-Mars, 143, 183
- Clanlau, Bertrand de, 326, 327
- Clement IX., Pope, 693, 695, 696
- Cœuvres, Marquis de, his attempted abduction of the Princesse de Condé, 19-23
- Colbert, 110, 695
- Coligny, Gaspard de Châtillon, Amiral de, 259
- Maurice, Comte de, 116, 140-142, 158, 175-177, 182, 184-188
- Comminges, Comte de (captain of Anne of Austria's guards), 273 and note
- Concini, Concino: *see* Ancre, Maréchal d'
- Condé, Charlotte de la Trémouille, Princesse de, 6 and note, 11-13, 30, 39
- Charlotte Marguerite de Montmorency, Princesse de (mother of Madame de Longueville), her beauty, 2, 3 and note; infatuation of Henri IV. for her, 4, 5; encourages the attentions of the King, 8; her adventure with Henri IV., 11-13; taken by her husband to Flanders, 15, 16; at Brussels, 16; her attempted abduction, 19-21; writes the King tender letters, 27, 28; refusal of her husband to see her, 30; reconciled to him, 33; her relations with him, 40; shares his imprisonment, 41-43; gives birth to Anne Geneviève de Bourbon, 44; liberated, 45, 46; her character, 66; her "retreats" at the Carmelites, 67, 68; pleads in vain for the life of her brother, Henri de Montmorency, 72; refuses to allow her daughter to enter the Carmelites, 75, 76; orders her to attend a State ball, 77; her salon at the Hôtel de Condé, 94, 95; her visits to Rueil, 112, 113; her life at Chantilly, 113; insists upon a public apology from Madame de Montbazon for calumniating her daughter, 161-166; supports Enghien's endeavours to procure the dissolution of his marriage, 173; d'Avaux's letter to her from Münster, 218; refuses to join the opposition to the Court, 255; demands a cardinal's hat for Conti, 299; accompanies the Court on its flight to Saint-Germain, 311; in despair at the escape of Longueville and Conti, 315, 316; gained over by Madame de Longueville to her political views, 350; exiled to Chantilly, 394; presents a petition to the Parlement in favour of the imprisoned princes, 427; dominated by Madame de Châtillon, 453, 454; her death, 454
- Condé, Claire Clémence de Maillé-

Brézé, Princesse de, 122-126, 135, 136, 171-174, 392, 428, 430, 432, 440-443, 539, 545, 559, 610, 621-624

Condé, Henri I. de Bourbon, Prince de, 6 and note

— Henri II. de Bourbon, Prince de (father of Madame de Longueville), birth, 5; personal appearance, 6; married to Charlotte Marguerite de Montmorency, 8; declines to play the complacent husband, 8-11; has a stormy interview with Henri IV., 14; flies with his wife to Flanders, 15, 16; appeals to Philip III. of Spain for protection, 17; his conduct on the night of the attempted abduction of his wife, 21; goes to Italy, 23; at Milan, 28, 29; returns to Brussels, but refuses to see his wife, 30; his return to France, 31, 32; reconciled to his wife, 32; his turbulent conduct during the regency, 33-37, arrested, 38, 39; imprisoned in the Bastille, 39; joined by his wife, 41; removed to Vincennes, 42; falls dangerously ill, 43; released, 44-46; his care of the education of his son, the Duc d'Enghien, 47-55; indignant at his daughter's desire to enter the Carmelites, 75; his servility towards Richelieu, 112; betrothes Enghien to a niece of the Cardinal, 112, 113; contests Richelieu's will against the Duchesse d'Aiguillon, 135-137; distrusted by Mazarin, 151, 152; prevents Enghien from procuring the dissolution of his marriage, 174; his death, 219; his character, 219-221

— Hôtel de, 138, 145, 324, 672

Condé, Louis II. de Bourbon, Prince de, "*le Grande Condé*" (elder brother of Madame de Longueville), birth, 46; education, 47-55; admirer of Corneille, 104; his epigrams, 114, 115; brings his future brothers-in-arms to Chantilly, 116, 117; his passion for Marthe du Vigean, 121, 122; betrothed against his will to Mlle. de Maillé-Brézé, 122, 123; his first campaign, 123, 124; his marriage, 124-126; falls seriously ill, 126; tyranny exercised over him by Richelieu, 127; gains the battle of Rocroi, 142-145; reduces Thionville, 145, 146; his indifference at the birth of his son, 171, 172; schemes to procure the dissolution of his marriage, 172-174; indignant at Madame de Montbazou's calumnies against his sister, 175; receives the wounded Coligny into his house, 187; gains fresh laurels at the battles of Freiburg and Nördlingen, 199, 200 and note; breaks off his relations with Marthe du Vigean, 200-204; reduces Dunkerque, 217; succeeds his father as Prince de Condé, 220, 221; leading a dissolute life, 227 and note; gains the battle of Lens, 238, 239; his grievances against Mazarin, 258; fails to reduce Lerida, 260-263; his difficulties in the Flemish campaign of 1648, 262, 263; declines to join the opposition to the Court, 264; his dislike of Mazarin, 283; summoned to Paris, 285; his interview with Retz, 286; his outspoken language to the magistrates, 288; has a stormy interview with Madame de

Longueville, 289 ; in favour of compromise, 292, 293 ; takes part in the conference at Saint-Germain, 292 ; loses his temper in the Parlement, 302 ; his plan of campaign, 307-309 ; accompanies the Court in its flight to Saint-Germain, 310 ; commands the royal troops against the Frondeurs, 326, 327 ; his grief at the death of the Duc de Châtillon, 327 ; sacrifices his jewels in the royal cause, 335 ; his position and pretensions after the Peace of Rueil, 346-348 ; refuses the command of the army in Flanders and retires to Burgundy, 348, 349 ; joins the Court at Compiègne, 351 ; accompanies it to Paris, 352 ; looks with disapproval on the proposed marriage of Mazarin's niece, Laure Mancini, to the Duc de Mercœur, 356, 357 ; surrounded by flatterers, 357 ; quarrels violently with Mazarin, 358, 359 ; overtures made to him by the Old Fronde, 359 ; reconciled to the Cardinal, 361 ; his conversation with Madame de Longueville, 361, 362 ; sups with Mazarin, 362 ; intrigues with the Frondeurs, 363 ; enters into an agreement with Mazarin, 363, 364 ; his pride and arrogance, 365, 366 ; defeated in the "War of the *Tabourets*," 366-368 ; attack upon his coach on the Pont-Neuf, 372-374 ; prosecutes Retz, Beaufort, and Broussel before the Parlement, 375-377 ; instigates Jarzé to attempt to supplant Mazarin in the Queen's affections, 379, 380 ; promotes the clandestine marriage of the Duc de Richelieu

and Madame de Pons, 382, 383 ; coalition of the Court and the Old Fronde against him, 383, 384 ; arrested and conveyed to Vincennes, 385-392 ; transferred to Marcoussis, 436 ; removed to Havre, 444 ; his release demanded by the Parlement of Paris, 477, 478 ; released, 485, 486 ; returns to Paris, 486 ; unfitted for political leadership, 491, 492 ; unfavourable to the proposal to deprive Anne of Austria of the regency, 495 ; approaches the Court, 497, 498 ; becomes an object of suspicion to the Frondeurs, 501, 502 ; breaks off the marriage arranged between his brother and Mlle. de Chevreuse, 503-510 ; his mistaken policy, 516, 517 ; his exorbitant pretensions, 517-520 ; negotiates with Spain, 520, 521 ; outmanœuvred by Mazarin, 521, 522 ; his imperious temper and ingratitude alienate his supporters, 523-525 ; project of rearresting or assassinating him, 532-534 ; his flight to Saint-Maur, 536 ; demands the dismissal of Le Tellier, Servien, and Lionne, 540 ; signs the Treaty of Saint-Maur, 541, 542 ; returns to Paris, 547 ; his arrogant and hostile tone towards the Court, 548-550 ; coalition of the Court and the Frondeurs against him, 550, 551 ; declaration of the Queen against him, 552 ; brings armed men to the Palais de Justice, 552 ; declines to attend the proclamation of Louis XIV.'s majority, 555, 556 ; interview with the Duc de Longueville, at Trie, 556, 557 ; undecided

how to act, 558, 559 ; retires to Berry, 560, 561 ; "draws the sword," 562 ; sets out for Bordeaux, 564 ; his plan of campaign, 572 ; concludes treaty with Spain, 575 and note ; his successful opening of the war soon followed by reverses, 576-578 ; resolves to take command of the Frondeurs on the Loire, 584 ; appoints Conti his lieutenant-general in Guienne, 585 ; his adventurous ride from Agen to the Loire, 587-589 ; defeats Hocquincourt at Bléneau, but is checked by Turenne, 589-591 ; leaves the army and goes to Paris, 591, 592 ; his futile negotiations with the Court, 593-596 ; appeals to the populace, 597 ; resumes command of the army and fights the battle of the Faubourg Saint-Antoine, 598-602 ; question of his responsibility for the massacre at the Hôtel de Ville considered, 602, 603 ; attempts to negotiate with the Court, 606 ; retires to Flanders, 607 ; his conduct in regard to the *Ormée* at Bordeaux, 620, 621 ; supports its tyranny, and throws the responsibility upon his brother and sister, 625, 626 ; sends envoys to England, 628 ; favours the idea of a republic, 629-630 ; condemned for high treason, 651, 652 ; Madame de Longueville's letter to him, 656 ; his return to France after the Peace of the Pyrenees, 671, 672 ; becomes a courtier, 673 ; roughly handled in La Rochefoucauld's *Mémoires*, 687, 688 ; exasperated by Bussy-Rabutin's slanders concern-

ing his sister and Madame de Châtillon, 689 note ; endeavours to secure Port-Royal-de-Paris for its former inmates, 696 ; wishes to transfer the duchy of Longueville from the Comte de Dunois to the Comte de Saint-Paul, 702-705 ; forbidden by Louis XIV. to become a candidate for the Crown of Poland, 709 ; wounded at the Passage of the Rhine, 710, 711 ; present at Madame de Longueville's death, 719

Conrart, 89 and note ; (cited) 602 note, 603

Contarini, Lorenzo (mediator at Münster), 197 and note

Conti, Anne Marie Martinozzi, Princesse de, 642, 665-669, 700 note

— Armand de Bourbon, Prince de (younger brother of Madame de Longueville), his birth, 46 ; his personal appearance, 223 ; his education, 223 and note ; passionate admiration for his sister, 224 ; completely dominated by her, 255 ; compelled by Condé to accompany him to Saint-Germain, 310 ; escapes, 314, 315 ; generalissimo of the Fronde, 319 ; introduces a Spanish envoy to the Parlement, 331, 332 ; reproached by Mathieu Molé with treason, 337 ; his demands at the Peace of Rueil, 339 ; in definite opposition to the Court, 349 ; intrigues with Madame de Longueville against Mazarin, 360 ; arrested and taken to Vincennes, 388-390 ; removed to Marcoussis, 436 ; taken to Havre, 444 ; released, 485, 486 ; rupture of his engagement to Mlle. de Chev-

- reuse, 503-513; signs the Treaty of Saint-Maur, 542; conduct at Bourges, 565; goes to Bordeaux, 566; lieutenant-general of Condé in Guienne, 585; quarrels with Madame de Longueville, 610-613; has an intrigue with Madame de Calvimont, 613 note; libelled by the Royalists of Bordeaux, 626, 627; makes terms for himself with the Court, 638-640; decides against English intervention in Guienne, 640; signs the capitulation of Bordeaux, 642; retires to Languedoc, 642; marries Anne Marie Martinuzzi, 642; reconciled to his sister, 667; serves in Catalonia and Italy, 667; becomes devout, 667, 668; his meeting with Condé on the latter's return to France, 671, 672
- Corneille, Pierre, 89, 90, 91, 104, 105, 112, 183
- Cosnac, Daniel de (almoner of the Prince de Conti), 638, 640
- Cotton, Père (confessor to Henri IV.), 27 and note
- Cours-la-Reine, the, 167 note
- Cousin, Victor, 41, 173, 415, 460; (cited) 57, 78 note, 80, 99, 113, 129, 131, 176 note, 252, 254, 437, 454, 460, 469, 517, 528, 534, 634, 662, 663, 664, 678
- Cromwell, Oliver, 481, 628, 629, 637, 640
- Cognac (agent of Condé in England), 628
- "Day of the Barricades," the, 278-282, 283, 373
- Decree of Union, the, 250, 251, 252, 263
- Degli Ponti, surrenders Rethel, 448, 449
- Descartes, 183, 661
- Des Chapelles, Comte, executed for duelling, 181, 182
- Desmares, Père (of the Oratory), 202
- Desmarets (poet), 112
- Desormeaux (cited), 557 note
- Dieppe, Madame de Longueville at, 402-412
- Domat, 661
- Du Bled, M. Victor (cited), 85
- Du Bosc, Pierre, 395
- Du Cayer (painter), 78, 99
- Du Daugnon, Comte, 518, 575, 576 and note, 577, 595, 636
- Duelling in France, 177-182
- Dunkerque, surrenders to the Duc d'Enghien, 217, 218
- Dunois, Jean Louis Charles d'Orléans, Comte de (son of Madame de Longueville), 192, 430, 701-706
- Louis, Comte de, "Bastard of Orléans," 129
- Marie Gabrielle d'Orléans, Mlle. de (daughter of Madame de Longueville), 430, 431
- Du Plessis-Bellièvre, Marquis, 409, 410, 411, 419
- Du Plessis-Praslin, Maréchal, 432, 434, 435, 439
- Du Quesne, Abraham, 410, 413
- Duretête (leader of the *Ormée* at Bordeaux), 619, 635, 641, 643, 644
- Du Vigan, Anne Louise de Fors: *see* Pons, Marquise de
- Marthe de Fors, 64, 87, 120-123, 171, 173, 174, 200-204, 227 and note, 690
- Du Vigeans, the, 111 note, 161
- Édit du Tarif*, the, 247
- Egmont, Juste d', his portrait of Madame de Longueville, 98, 99
- Elbeuf, Duc d', 318, 319, 320, 331
- Émeri, d' (Comptroller-General of Finance), 242, 249, 268, 269

- Enghien, Henri Jules de Bourbon,
 Duc d', 171, 172, 258, 259, 392,
 429, 440, 480, 503, 642, 670,
 671, 710
 — Louis de Bourbon, Duc d': *see*
 Condé
 Entragues, Charlotte Marie, 4 note
 Épernon, Duc d', 428 and note,
 616, 644
 Erlach, Maréchal d', 288
 Esprit, Jacques, 110, 205, 661, 687
 Estainville, d', pretends to shoot
 at Guy Joly, 370, 371
 Estrades, Comte d', 184, 185, 617,
 644
 Estrées, Gabrielle d', 10, 19

 Fabert (governor of Sedan), 499,
 579
 Faubourg Saint-Antoine, Battle
 of, 599-602
 Ferdinand III., Emperor, 239
 Feuquières, Comte de (governor of
 Verdun), 489
 Filhot, Jacques, his heroic con-
 duct at Bordeaux, 634-636
 "First of Corinthians," the, 318,
 326
 Fismes, engagement at, 435
 Fontaine, Comte de, 144
 — (Jansenist), 677, 691 note;
 (cited) 680, 698
 Fontaines, Mlle. de (Mère Made-
 leine de Saint-Joseph), 60, 61,
 192
 "Formulaire," the, 677 and note,
 678, 696
 Fors, Marquis de, 111 note, 203
 Fouquerolles, Madame de, 160
 Fouquet-Croissy (counsellor of
 the Parlement), 479, 560, 561,
 563
 François I., King of France, 218
 Frederick V., Elector Palatine, 459
 Freiburg, Battle of, 200 and note
 Fronde, the, origin of the name,
 282 note

 Fuensaldana, Count de, 438, 521
 Fuentes (governor of Milan), 24, 29

 Gamaches, Marquise de, 113, 118,
 454
 Gamarra, Don Estevan de, 450
 Gardiner, S. R. (cited), 629
 Gassion, Maréchal de, 234
 Genetti, Cardinal, 192
 "Genre précieux," the, 85, 86
 Godeau, Abbé, 89, 110
 Gombaud, 89
 Gondi, Jean François Paul: *see*
 Retz
 Gondrin, M. de, Archbishop of
 Sens, 691, 695
 Gonzague, Anne de: *see* Palatine,
 Anne, Princess
 — Marie de: *see* Marie, Queen
 of Poland
 Gourville: *see* Hérault de Gourville
 Gramont, Chevalier de, 463, 464,
 465
 — Maréchal de, 87, 470 and note,
 482, 542
Grand Cyrus, le, 87, 96, 97, 100,
 103, 460, 461
 Guémenée, Duchesse de, 378, 661
 Guerchy, Mlle. de (beloved by the
 Duc de Châtillon), 328
Guirlande de Julie, la, 88
 Guitaut, Comte de, arrests the
 princes, 388, 389
 Guise, Henri I. de Lorraine, Duc
 de, 184, 347, 247
 — Henri II. de Lorraine, Duc de,
 116, 147, 148, 175, 177, 182, 184-
 187, 254, 459
 Gustavus Adolphus, King of
 Sweden, 92

 Halley Antoine (poet), 395
 Hamelot de la Houssaye (cited),
 230
 Harcourt, Comte d', 114, 169, 260,
 262 note, 325, 348, 407, 533,
 574, 577, 615, 616

- Hardouin de Péréfixe, Archbishop of Paris, 696
- Harlay de Chanvalon, Archbishop of Paris, 719
- Haro, Don Luis de (Prime Minister of Spain), 458
- Hautefort, Marie de: *see* Schomberg, Duchesse de,
- Hauteroche (actor), 90
- Henri III., King of France, 179
- IV., King of France, 1-29, 31, 32, 33, 80, 178, 243
- Henrietta Anne of England: *see* Orléans
- Henriette Marie de France, Queen of England, 14, 65, 627
- Hérault de Gourville, Jean, 472, 488, 573, 574, 581 note, 586, 587, 594, 596
- Herbert of Cherbury, Lord (cited), 180
- Hervart (agent of Mazarin), 335, 423, 506
- Histoire d'Agésilan et d'Isménie*, 187, 188
- Hocquincourt, Maréchal d', 435, 437, 532-535, 579, 589, 590
- Hôpital, Maréchal de l', 143, 144, 367, 368, 593, 602 note
- Hôtel de Ville, massacre at, 602, 603
- Houdancourt: *see* La Mothe Houdancourt,
- Hull, Anselm van (painter), his portrait of Madame de Longueville, 99
- Humières, Maréchale d', 717
- Illiers, Jacqueline d' (mistress of Henri II., Duc de Longueville), 131
- "Important," the, 147, 150, 151, 154, 163, 234, 253, 255, 258
- Innocent X., Pope, 676, 677 note
- Isabella, Archduchess of Austria, 16 note, 25, 26
- Ithier, Père, 631-634, 642, 643 and note
- Jansenism, 678, 694
- Jansenists, the, 677, 691, 693
- Jansenius, Cornelius, 676, 677, 678
- Jarzé, Marquis de, endeavours to supplant Mazarin in the affections of Anne of Austria, 380
- Jeannin, Président, 24, 32, 34
- Jesuits, the, 243, 677, 695, 696
- Jews, their colony at Amsterdam, 211 note
- John Casimir, King of Poland, 709
- Joinville, Prince de, 128
- Joly, Claude, 205, 210, 211, 212, 213, 370 note
- Guy, 205, 370-374, (cited) 561
- Joubert (cited), 4
- La Boulaye, Marquis de, 371-374
- La Bruyère (cited), 91, 105
- La Buffetière (*gouverneur* to the Duc d'Enghien), 50, 53
- La Chaussée (officer of Henri IV.'s guards), 15
- La Fayette, Comtesse de, 89, 661, 713
- La Ferté Senneterre, Maréchal, 144, 300, 599, 600, 601, 708
- Maréchale, 708 and note, 714
- La Grande Mademoiselle*: *see* Montpensier, Duchesse de
- Lair, M. Jules (cited), 69
- Lalane, Abbé de, 691 note, 695
- La Meilleraie, Maréchal de, 224, 227, 269, 279, 293, 308 and note, 432, 439
- La Mesnardière, 94
- La Mothe Houdancourt, Maréchal de, 260, 319, 320, 559
- Lancri de Bains, Mlle. (Mère Marie Madeleine de Jésus), 62-65, 690
- La Rivière, Abbé de (favourite of Duc d'Orléans), 277, 299, 300, 310, 362, 383, 384, 388, 389 and note
- La Rivière (agent of Condé), 628
- La Rochefoucauld, Andrée de Vivonne, Duchesse de, 229, 366-368

La Rochefoucauld, François V., Duc de, 229
 — François VI., Duc de, persuades Madame de Montbazon to surrender the dropped love-letters attributed by her to Madame de Longueville, 161; his early career, 228-233; his hopes of favour under the regency disappointed, 233, 234; resolved to gain the affections of Madame de Longueville, in order to further his own designs, 234, 235; his cynical account of the beginning of their *liaison*, 235, 236; acquires a complete ascendancy over her, 236, 237; intrigues with her against the Court, 254, 255; his grievances against Mazarin and the Queen, 304, 305; persuades Conti and Longueville to escape from Saint-Germain, 313, 314; one of the "generals" of Paris, 319; his hatred of Retz, 323 and note; believed to be the father of Madame de Longueville's son Charles Paris d'Orléans, 323; wounded in a skirmish, 329; his demands at the Peace of Rueil, 339; in definite opposition to the Court, 349; desires the "honours of the Louvre" and a *tabouret* for his wife, 366 and note; his relations with Madame de Longueville revealed to the lady's husband by Retz, 377; accompanies Madame de Longueville in her flight to Normandy, 395; goes to stir up disaffection in Poitou, 410; attempts to surprise Saumur, 428; brings the Princesse de Condé to Bordeaux, 429, 430; his conduct during the siege of Bordeaux, 440; receives per-

mission to retire to his estates, 442; originator of the proverb: "*Tout arrive en France*," 443 and note; annoyed at the attentions paid by certain gentlemen at Stenai to Madame de Longueville, 465 and note; has secret conferences with Mazarin at the Palais-Royal, 475, 476; concludes an alliance with the Old Fronde, 479; question of his responsibility for the rupture of the engagement between Conti and Mlle. de Chevreuse considered, 508-510; his vacillation, 546, 547; counsels Condé to negotiate with the Court, 547; scene with Retz at the Palais de Justice, 552-554; present at the final conference of his party at Montrond, 561; accompanies Condé to Bordeaux, 564; breaks off his relations with Madame de Longueville, and "from her lover becomes her enemy," 566-571; forced to raise the siege of Cognac, 577; accompanies Condé on his adventurous ride from Guienne to the Loire, 587-589; and to Paris, 591; engineers a disgraceful conspiracy against Madame de Longueville, 593, 594; wounded in the battle of the Faubourg Saint-Antoine, 601; retires to Lorraine, 605; his *Maximes*, 662, 663; calumniates Madame de Longueville in his *Mémoires*, 684-688; his letter to Madame de Sablé, 689; (cited) 95, 141, 184, 230, 231, 233, 235, 373, 506 note, 508 note, 510, 533, 539, 553 note, 554, 561, 593, 619, 679

La Trémouille, Duc de, 340, 575
 Lauzun, Duc de, 709

- La Valette, Cardinal de, 87
 La Vallière, Louise de, 65, 717
 La Vieuville, Chevalier de (lover of the Princess Palatine), 461, 462, 529
 — Duc de, 461, 529 and note
 La Vrillière, 393, 394
 League, the, 57, 603, 619
 Le Clerc, 104
 Lecocq, M. Georges (cited), 94
 Lecouvreur, Adrienne (actress), 665 note
 Le Féron (Provost of the Merchants), 318, 323, 393
 Le Jeune, Père (confessor to Mlle. de Bourbon), 75
 Le Maître, Antoine, 691 note
 Lenet, Pierre, 432, 442, 561, 563, 585, 595, 610, 612, 614, 620, 621, 626, 627 and note, 629, 631, 632, 634, 642, 647, 654; (cited) 11, 95, 115, 362, 373, 438, 453, 613, 630, 641 note
 Lens, Battle of, 116, 213, 271, 272, 290, 390
 Leopold, Archduke of Austria, 331, 332, 333, 341, 435
 Lerida, Condé's failure before, 261-262, 264
 Lesdigières, Duchesse de, 191
 L'Estoile (cited), 9, 31
 Le Tellier, Abbé, 695
 — Michel, 309, 406, 407, 434, 481, 484, 485 note, 540, 547
 L'Étoile, 112
 Liancourt, Duchesse de, 112
 Liège, Madame de Longueville at, 206
 Lionne, Hugues de, 300, 301, 386, 506, 520, 527; (cited) 506, 512, 540, 547, 695
 Longueil (counsellor of the Parliament), 286, 304
 Longueville, Anne Geneviève de Bourbon, Duchesse de, birth, 44; education, 56; early religious impressions, 68, 69; de-
 sires to enter the Carmelites, 75-77; attends a State ball at the Louvre, 77, 78; and changes her views of life, 78, 79; at the Hôtel de Rambouillet, 94; her beauty, 95-98; her portraits, 98-101; her intellectual gifts, 101, 102; her literary friends, 102-104; becomes the "arbitrix of taste," 104; her admiration for Voiture, 104, 105; champions him against Benserade, 105-108; patronises Chapelain, 108; anticipates the verdict of the critics on his *Pucelle*, 109, 110; her occupations during the summer, 111, 112; her girl friends, 118-121; matrimonial projects in regard to her, 127, 128; betrothed to the Duc de Longueville, 129; her marriage, 132, 133; attacked by small-pox, 134; her success as an hostess, 138, 139; does not love her husband, 139; her relations with Maurice de Coligny considered, 140-142; hated by Madame de Montbazon, 157, 158; calumniated by her, 158-160; her innocence established, 160, 161; demands and obtains reparation, 163-166; intervenes on behalf of her sister-in-law, the Duchesse d'Enghien, 173; question of her responsibility for the fatal duel between Coligny and Guise considered, 175-177; said to have watched the combat, 186; figures as the heroine of a novel, 187, 188; uses her charms on behalf of her brother, Enghien, 189, 190; severe portrait of her by Mazarin, 190, 191; gives birth to a daughter, 191; and to a son, 192; reluctant to accompany her husband to Germany,

195-197; her journey to Münster, 205-208; her tour in Holland, 210-214; her life at Münster, 214-217; returns to France, 222, 223; passionate affection of her younger brother, Conti, for her, 224; performance of the opera *Orphée* given in her honour, 224, 225; her dazzling position, 225-227; beginning of her *liaison* with La Rochefoucauld, 235-238; entirely dominated by her lover, 254; her intrigues against the Court, 254-257; fails to gain the support of Condé, 264; feared by Mazarin, 283; has a stormy interview with Condé, 290; endeavours to bring about a rupture between Orléans and the Court, 298-301; and to widen the breach between her husband and Mazarin, 301; allied with Retz, 303, 304; and with the firebrands of the Parlement, 304; refuses to accompany the Court to Saint-Germain, 311; goes to reside with her children at the Hôtel de Ville, 321, 322; takes part in all the deliberations of the insurgents, 322, 323; gives birth to Charles Paris d'Orléans, 323, 324; favours the negotiations of the Fronde with Spain, 331; urges Conti to support the claims of La Rochefoucauld, 339; her interview with the Queen at Saint-Germain, 342-344; endeavours to draw Condé from his alliance with Mazarin, 346-348; in definite opposition to the Government, 349; wins her mother over to her views, 350; renews her efforts to separate *Monsieur le Prince* and Mazarin, 350; prediction of the

Duc de Rohan-Chabot in regard to her and Condé, 353; disliked by Anne of Austria, 355; urges Condé to oppose the marriage of the Duc de Mercœur and Laure Mancini, 356; and to obtain the government of the Pont-de-l'Arche for her husband, 359; favours an alliance with the Old Fronde against Mazarin, 359; intrigues to prevent an accommodation between her brother and the Cardinal, 360, 361; angry at their reconciliation, 362; her pride and arrogance, 364, 365; defeated in the "War of the *Tabourets*," 366-368; exasperated against Retz, 376, 377; promotes a clandestine marriage between the young Duc de Richelieu and Madame de Pons, 381-383; escapes to Normandy after the arrest of the princes, 392-396; outrage committed by her followers on a royal courier, 397, 398; "does everything possible to make the capital of the province revolt," 400, 401; compelled to leave Rouen, 400, 401; refused admission to Havre, 400, 401; admitted to the Château of Dieppe, 401, 402; endeavours, but without success, to gain the Dieppois over to her cause, 403-405; demands help from Spain, 405; declines to obey the Queen's order to leave Dieppe, 409; threatens the citizens, 410; besieged by the royal troops, 410, 411; escapes from the château, 411; her perilous adventures, 412, 413; escapes to Holland in disguise, 413, 414; her letter to Louis XIV., 414-421; joins Turenne

at Stenai, 422, 423 ; concludes a treaty with Spain, 423, 424 ; issues a manifesto in justification of her conduct, 424-426 ; declared guilty of high treason, 426, 427 ; loses her daughter, 431 ; the soul of the party of the princes, 432 ; her grief at her mother's death, 454 ; her touching letter to the Prioress of the Carmelites, 455, 456 ; her correspondence with Anne de Gonzague, Princess Palatine, 459-474 ; reluctance of Mazarin to accept her overtures, 476 ; her letter to Condé, 488, 489 ; returns to Paris, 489 ; her brilliant position at this moment, 489, 490 ; her influence over her brothers, 491 ; claims Conti's undivided homage, 504 ; question of her responsibility for the rupture of his marriage with Mlle. de Chevreuse considered, 510-513 ; her policy, 517 ; on bad terms with her husband, 525, 526 ; and with her step-daughter, Mlle. de Longueville, 526 ; declines to accompany the duke to Normandy, 527 ; follows Condé to Saint-Maur, 539 ; in favour of an open rupture with the Court, 541 ; signs the Treaty of Saint-Maur, 541-542 ; her motives for desiring civil war, 543-546 ; exercises the chief influence in the counsels of her party, 547 ; retires to Berry, 547, 548 ; at Montrond, 561 ; triumphs over Condé's last scruples, 562 ; goes to Bourges, 564 ; compelled to retire to Montrond and thence to Bordeaux, 565, 566 ; her supposed *liaison* with the Duc de Nemours, 566, 567 ; true

explanation of her conduct, 567, 568 ; harshly discarded by La Rochefoucauld, 569, 570 ; her despair, 570, 571 ; again declared guilty of high treason, 580 ; urges Condé to assume command of the Frondeurs on the Loire, 584 ; appointed a member of the Council at Bordeaux, 585, 586 ; disgraceful conspiracy of La Rochefoucauld and Madame de Châtillon against her, 593, 594 ; ingratitude of Condé towards her, 595, 596 ; rupture between her and her younger brother, 610-612 ; her hopes thwarted on every side, 613 ; intrigues of Lenet against her, 614 ; innocent of having encouraged the excesses of the *Ormée*, 619-621 ; her courage and presence of mind, 622-624 ; the object of abominable libels, 626, 627 and note ; saves the life of Père Ithier, 633, 634 ; favours English intervention in Guienne, 638 ; her fidelity to Condé inviolable, 639, 640 ; recognises the futility of further resistance, 641, retires to Montreuil-Bellay, in Anjou, 642 ; her position after the surrender of Bordeaux, 644-646 ; her letter to Lenet, 647, 648 ; goes to visit her aunt, the Duchesse de Montmorency, at Moulins, 648 ; her conversion, 648, 649 ; slander still busy with her name, 649-651 ; her grief at Condé's condemnation for high treason, 652, 653 ; reconciled to her husband, 653, 654 ; goes to Normandy, 655 ; her piety and benevolence, 655 ; her letter to Condé, 655, 656 ; extravagant austerities imposed upon her by her confessor, 657,

658; visited by the Princess Palatine, 658; her friendship with Mlle. de Vertus, 659; renews her intimacy with Madame de Sablé, 659, 660; her correspondence with her, 663-671; her meeting with Condé on his return to France, 671; her visit to Fontainebleau, 675, 676; converted to Jansenism, 676-679; "*la Grande Mère Angélique's*" opinion of her, 679; takes Antoine Singlin as her confessor, 679-681; her self-examination, 682, 683; calumniated by La Rochefoucauld in his *Mémoires*, 684-689; her generous conduct towards Bussy-Rabutin, 689 note; loses her husband, 689; constitutes herself the champion of the persecuted Jansenists, 690, 691; shelters Arnauld and Nicole in her hôtel, 691, 692; her letter to Pope Clement IX., 693, 694; her share in the Peace of the Church, 694-697; consideration of Louis XIV. for her, 697 and note; Fontaine's eulogy of her, 698, 699; her troubles with her two sons, the Comte de Dunois and the Comte de Saint-Paul, 700-708; endeavours to arrange a marriage for the latter with *Mademoiselle*, 709; obtains Louis XIV.'s consent to his candidature for the Crown of Poland, 710; her intense grief on learning of his death at the Passage of the Rhine, 711-713; obtains the legitimation of his natural son, Charles Louis d'Orléans, 715, 716; her touching letter to the Abbé de Saint-Cyran, 715; withdraws almost entirely from the world, 715;

her profound humility, 717, 718; her death, 719; Pontchâteau's appreciation of her, 720, 721
 Longueville, Charles Louis d'Orléans, Chevalier de (natural son of Charles Paris, Duc de Longueville), 708, 715-717
 — Charles Paris d'Orléans, Duc de Longueville (son of Madame de Longueville), 323, 324, 430, 525, 701, 703, 705, 706-716
 — Henri I., Duc de, 130
 — Henri II., Duc de (husband of Madame de Longueville), his genealogy, 129, 130; his personal appearance and character, 131, 132; marries Mlle. de Bourbon, 132, 133; his relations with his wife, 137; lover of Madame de Montbazou, 157, 158; sent as French Ambassador to the Congress of Münster 194, 198; quarrels with the Imperialist and Spanish plenipotentiaries, 198, 199; meets his wife at Wesel, 198, 199; his magnificence at Münster, 209, 210; his grievances against Mazarin, 215-217; takes part in the conference at Saint-Germain, 293; his demands refused by Mazarin, 301; intriguing against the Government, 304; his irresolute conduct, 313; escapes from Saint-Germain and declares for the Fronde, 314, 315; incites Normandy to insurrection, 324, 325; his demands at the Peace of Rueil, 340; very embarrassed in the presence of Anne of Austria, 342; receives the government of the Pont-de-l'Arche, 361; informed by Retz of his wife's relations with La Rochefoucauld, 376, 377; arrested and taken to

- Vincennes, 388-390; removed to Marcoussis, 436; and to Havre, 444; disinclined to compromise himself in Condé's projects, 524; on bad terms with his wife, 525-527; orders her to join him in Normandy, 544; his interview with Condé at Trie, 557; reconciled to his wife, 653, 654; his death, 689, 690
- Longueville, Léonor d'Orléans, Duc, 59, 130
- Marie d'Orléans, Mlle. de : *see* Nemours, Duchesse de
- Lorraine, Marguerite de : *see* Orléans, Duchesse de
- Loudon, Treaty of, 37
- Louis XIII., King of France, 31, 32, 34, 35, 37, 45, 46, 52, 54, 55, 77, 137, 142, 193, 228, 231, 233, 243, 244
- XIV., King of France, 46, 142, 247, 271, 285, 309, 353, 388, 406, 407, 415, 432, 484, 495, 496, 549, 555, 556, 558, 565, 570, 582, 600, 606, 607, 654, 661, 672, 673, 674, 677, 695, 696, 697 note, 709, 710, 716 and note
- Luynes, Connétable de, 40, 42, 169
- Luynes, Duc de, 319
- Maillé-Brézé, Claire Clémence de : *see* Condé
- Maintenon, Madame de (cited), 98, 102
- Maisons, Président de, 293, 523
- Maldalchini, Donna Olympia, 299 and note
- Malherbe, 9, 25; (cited) 10, 30
- Manasseh Ben Israel (rabbi of Amsterdam), 211
- Mancini, Hortense : *see* Mazarin, Duchesse de
- Laure : *see* Mercœur, Duchesse de
- Mancini, Marianne : *see* Bouillon, Duchesse de
- Paul, 550, 551, 601
- Maria Theresa, Queen of France, 675
- Marie de Gonzague, Queen of Poland, 130, 459
- de' Medici, Queen of France, 2 note, 14, 19, 27, 29, 33, 35, 37, 40, 65, 146, 167, 243
- Marigny (poet), 613
- Marsillac (servant of Marie de' Medici), 35
- Prince de : *see* La Roche-foucauld
- Prince de (son of François VI. Duc de La Rochefoucauld), 546, 586, 587
- Marsin, Comte de, 115, 561, 575, 585, 586, 610, 612, 615, 617, 633, 638, 641, 642
- Martin, Henri (cited), 319
- (sheriff of Dieppe), 404, 410
- Martinozzi, Anne Marie : *see* Conti
- Maulevrier, Comte de, 160
- Maure, Comte de, 340, 576
- Comtesse de, 183
- Maurillac, Maréchal de, 340 and note
- Maximilian, Duke of Bavaria, 239
- Mayenne, Duc de, 35, 39, 45
- Mazarin, Cardinal, his critical position after the death of Louis XIII., 146, 147; resolves to secure the affections of Anne of Austria, 151, 152; advises the Queen to compel Madame de Montbazou to make a public apology for calumniating Madame de Longueville, 162, 163; drafts the apology, 164; plot against his life, 169, 170; secures the disgrace of the "Importants," 170, 171; his severe portrait of Madame de Longueville, 190, 191; reproaches d'Avaux for his in-

discretions in Holland, 194; resolves to send the Duc de Longueville to the Congress of Münster, 194, 195; anxious to get Madame de Longueville away from Paris, 195, 196; gives a representation of the opera *Orphée* in honour of the princess, 224, 225; his foreign policy, 239; his letters to Servien, 241, 242; underrates the gravity of the parliamentary opposition, 252, 253; treatment of the Duc de Longueville, 255-257; grievances of Condé against him, 258-264; replaces the Comptroller-General of Finance, d'Emeri, by the Maréchal de la Meilleraie, 268, 269; seriously alarmed at the situation of affairs, 270, 271; reluctant to recall Condé from Flanders, 283; advises their Majesties to retire to Rueil, 284; causes Châteauneuf and Chavigny to be disgraced, 287; "a rascally Sicilian," 291; complains of the weakness of the princes, 292; takes no part in the conference at Saint-Germain, 293; his duplicity, 295-297; the object of violent denunciations in the Parlement, 302; grievances of La Rochefoucauld against him, 305; "made to pass for one of the most obstinate Jews in Europe," 306; resolved on repressive measures, 306; rejects Condé's plan of campaign, 308, 309; accompanies the Court in its flight to Saint-Germain, 310; distrustful of Condé's loyalty, 316; decree of the Parlement against him, 317; denounced in a swarm of pamphlets, 329; induces Tu-

renne's troops to desert him, 335; remains in the background during the negotiations at Rueil, 335, 336; continues to be an object of attack, 349; intrigues of Madame de Longueville against him, 350, 351; gains over Mesdames de Chevreuse and de Montbazon, 350, 351; arranges a marriage for his niece Laure Mancini with the Duc de Mercœur, 351; returns to Paris, 353, 354; quarrels with Condé, 358-360; reconciled to him, 361, 362; sups with him at the Luxembourg, 363; enters into an agreement with him, 363, 364; his responsibility for the pretended assassination of Joly and the attack upon Condé's coach considered, 373-374; negotiates with the Old Fronde for an alliance against Condé, 377-379; advises the Queen to administer a public rebuke to Jarzé, 380; concludes an alliance with the Frondeurs and decides on the arrest of Condé, 383, 384; tricks Condé into signing the order for his own arrest, 386, 387; his conduct on the night of the arrest of the princes, 388, 389; forestalls Madame de Longueville at Rouen, 397; and at Havre, 401; brings the Court to Normandy, 406-408; denounced by Madame de Longueville in her letter to Louis XIV., 415-421; takes vigorous means to repress the insurrections for the release of the princes, 431, 432; strained relations with the Frondeurs, 444; refuses Retz's demand for a cardinal's hat, 445-447; goes to join the army in Champagne, 449; his

- secret interviews with La Rochefoucauld, 475, 476; hesitates to accept his propositions, 476, 477; alliance of the two Frondes against him, 479-481; his dismissal demanded by the Parlement, 482; leaves Paris, 483; releases the princes, 484-486; retires to Brühl, 486; keeps up an active correspondence with the Queen, 494; counsels her to separate Condé and Orléans, 497, 498; and to prevent the marriage of the Prince de Conti to Mlle. de Chevreuse, 504, 505; receives an offer of assistance from Madame de Chevreuse, 513, 514; determined to oppose the pretensions of Condé, 519-521; outmanœuvres the prince, 521, 522; advises the Queen to win over Condé's dissatisfied adherents, 522; flatters Retz, 530, 531; negotiations for his return, 550, 551; raises an army and returns to France, 578-580; decree of the Parlement against him, 580; witnesses the battle of the Faubourg Saint-Antoine, 600; again goes into exile, 606; edicts against him annulled, 606; his triumphant return to Paris, 608; fears Madame de Longueville's influence in Normandy, 653; his reception of Condé on the latter's return to France, 672; (cited) 142, 151, 152 and note, 190, 197, 294, 297, 301, 374 note, 383, 407, 445, 449, 483, 485 note, 494, 497, 505, 521, 527, 529, 530, 579
- Mazarin, Hortense Mancini, Duchesse de, 269, 544
- Mazarinades, the, 329, 349, 415
- Méliand (*procureur-général*), 375
- Mello, Don Francisco de, commands the Spaniards at Rocroi, 144
- Mémoires*, La Rochefoucauld's, 684-689
- Ménage, 89
- Merceur, Duc de, 170, 351, 356, 358, 550,
— Duchesse de, 351, 356, 357, 550
- Mercy (Austrian general), 200
- Mesmes, Président de, 293, 333, 336
- Michael Wisniowiecki, King of Poland, 709
- Mignard (painter), portrait of Madame de Longueville attributed to him, 99
- "*Mignons*," duel of the, 178
- Miossens, Comte de, 235, 236, 387, 390
- Modène, Esprit de Mormoiran, Comte de, 40 and note
— Raimond de Mormoiran, Comte de, 40 note
- Molé, Mathieu (First President of the Parlement of Paris), 247, 267, 271, 274, 293, 333, 337, 338, 341, 376, 478, 500, 501, 502, 523, 549, 550
- Molière, 86, 183, 667
- Montaigne (cited), 178
- Montausier, Marquis de, 87, 88, 119, 615, 661
— Marquise de, 88, 89, 92, 113, 119, 134, 661
- Montbazon, Duchesse de, 132, 139, 151, 154-169, 174, 254, 351, 352, 374 note, 466, 468, 658
- Montespan, Marquis de, 706 note
— Marquise de (mistress of Louis XIV.), 661, 716 and note
- Montglat, Marquis de (cited), 399, 533, 535, 565, 673
- Montigny (governor of Dieppe), 205, 402-405
- Montmorency, Charlotte Marguerite de: *see* Condé
— Henri I., Duc and Connétable

- de, 2 and note, 4, 8, 9, 18, 32, 70
 Montmorency, Henri II., Duc de, 70-74, 112, 173, 648
 — Louise de Budos, Duchesse de, 2 note
 — Maria Felicia Orsini, Duchesse de, 70, 71, 73, 74, 648, 649-651
 Montmorency-Boutteville, François, Comte de, 180, 181, 182,
 — François, Comte de (son of above), 117, 357, 391, 435, 453, 472, 519
 — Isabelle Angélique de: *see* Châtillon, Duchesse de
 — Louis, Comte de, 18
 — Louise de: *see* Valençay, Marquise de
 Montpensier, Duchesse de, 165, 310, 406, 489, 582, 602 and note, 603, 607, 709; (cited) 98, 137, 165, 166, 353 note, 406, 485 note, 583 note
 Montrond, Château of, 48, 49, 53, 429, 560, 561, 564, 565,
 Morlot, Claude, libels Anne of Austria, 349
 Morosini, Venetian Ambassador in Paris, (cited), 368 note, 549, 603 note
 Motteville, Marquise de (cited), 3 note, 66 note, 97, 141, 163, 164, 166 note, 168, 175, 176 note, 186, 224, 226, 228 note, 237, 273 note, 297, 310, 342, 346, 350, 353, 360, 378, 392, 407, 409, 448, 475 and note, 491, 499, 502, 511, 532, 570, 578, 593
 Münster, Congress of, 99, 192, 193, 197-199, 209, 210, 214-218, 255
 — Madame de Longueville's journey to, 204-208
 Muret, Château of, adventure of Henri IV. and Princesse de Condé at, 11-13
 Myron (counsellor of the Parliament of Rouen), 397
 Napoleon I., Emperor (cited), 439, 449 note
 Navailles, Duc de, 550
 — Duchesse de, 550
 Nemours, Charles Amédée de Savoie, Duc de, 117 and note, 328, 446 and note, 479, 480, 518, 523, 539, 542, 559, 561, 562-570, 575 and note, 580, 582, 583 and note, 584, 589, 591, 595, 600, 601, 604, 605
 — Henri de Savoie, Duc de, 117 note, 130, 690
 — Louis de Savoie, Duc de, 117 and note
 — Marie d'Orléans, Duchesse de, 117 note, 130, 342, 351, 523, 690, 704 and note; (cited) 364, 395, 409, 511, 567, 569
 Nicholas V., Pope, 58
 Nicole, Pierre, 661, 691 and note, 692; (cited) 138, 696
 Nogent La Moussaye, Baron, 117 and note, 145, 357, 414, 457, 465
 Noirmoutier, Marquis de, 314, 319, 322, 336, 339, 406
 Noisy, "Treaty" of, 304, 305, 314
 Nördlingen, Battle of, 46, 200
 Novion, Président de, 293
 Ondedei, Zongo, Bishop of Fréjus, 373, 374 note
 Orange, Éléonore de Bourbon, Princess of, 16 and note, 32, 42
 Orléans, Anne Marie Louise d': *see* Montpensier Duchesse de
 — Catherine Angélique (natural daughter of Henri II., Duc de Longueville), 131
 — Charlotte Louise (daughter of Madame de Longueville), 191, 192
 — Gaston, Duc d' (*Monsieur*), 46, 151, 165, 169, 175, 186, 267, 277, 280, 293, 297, 299-301, 302, 310, 360, 361, 362, 364, 378, 383, 384, 388, 406, 425, 427,

- 436, 445, 468, 469 note, 480 and note, 481, 482, 483, 489, 499, 501, 502, 532, 539-540, 547, 548, 560, 578, 588, 591-593, 595, 596, 598, 602-604, 606, 608
- Orléans, Marguerite de Lorraine, Duchesse d', 175, 186, 310, 383
- Ormée*, the, at Bordeaux, 618-627, 630, 632, 633, 634, 635, 638, 640, 641, 642, 643
- Ormesson, Olivier d' (cited), 268
- Orphée*, performance of, 224, 225
- Osorio, Don José (Spanish governor of Bourg), 636 and note
- Palais de Justice, incidents at the, 302, 331, 332, 337, 341, 371, 376, 552-554, 597
- Palatine, Anne de Gonzague, Princess, 130, 147, 212, 393, 394, 395, 416, 432, 457-474, 475, 477, 479, 480, 485, 493, 503, 527-530, 573, 648
- Edward, Prince, 212, 459
- Elector: *see* Frederick V.
- Maurice, Prince, 212
- Philip, Prince, 473 and note
- Palluau, Comte de, 263 note, 566
- Parlement of Bordeaux, the, 429, 430, 441, 572, 585, 610, 617, 622, 624, 625
- of Paris, the, 45, 242-254, 265-271, 273, 274, 279-281, 283, 287, 288, 290-297, 301, 302, 313, 314, 317, 318, 331-341, 347, 349, 370, 371, 374-376, 379, 427, 428, 441, 477, 478, 482, 492, 493, 496, 497, 540, 549, 551-554, 555, 556, 580, 591, 593, 597, 602, 604, 606, 607, 625, 716
- of Rouen, the, 325, 376-400, 405
- Pascal, Blaise, 183, 661, 662, 678
- Jacqueline, 678, 696
- Patin, Gui (cited), 338 note
- Patru, 89
- Paul, V., Pope, 29
- Paulet, Mlle., 87 and note
- Paulette*, the, 245, 249, 250
- Pavillon, Nicolas, Bishop of Alet, 667, 677, 695
- "Peace of the Church," the, 695-699
- Pecquius (Flemish Ambassador in Paris), 24, 27
- Pegnaranda (Spanish plenipotentiary at Münster), 198 and note, 199, 256
- Pelletier, Père (tutor of the Duc d'Enghien), 50, 52, 53
- Perkins, Mr. J. B. (cited), 183, 197 note, 580
- Perrault, Président, 560, 671
- Petitot, portrait of Madame de Longueville attributed to him, 100
- "*Petits-Maîtres*," the, 357
- Philip II., King of Spain, 16 note
- III., King of Spain, 17, 18
- IV., King of Spain, 423, 425, 575, 642
- Pichon (President of the Parliament of Bordeaux), 623
- Pisani, Marquis de, 117
- Place-Royale, the, 181, 182-185
- Pommereux, Madame de (mistress of Retz), 304
- Pons, Marquise de (afterwards Duchesse de Richelieu), 120, 202-204, 366-368, 381, 382, 401, 402
- Pontchâteau, Marquis de (cited), 720
- Pontis, Sieur de (cited), 180
- Port-Royal-de-Paris, Abbey of, 677, 678, 696, 697, and note
- Port-Royal-des-Champs, Abbey of, 697 and note, 717, 719, 720
- Priolo (secretary to Duc de Longueville), 527 and note, 557, (cited) 357
- Pucelle*, la, of Chapelain, 89, 109, 110

Pyrenees, Peace of the, 652, 671, 672

Racan, 89

Rambouillet Hôtel de, 82-94, 104, 109, 110, 196, 661

— Marquis de, 82

— Marquise de, 82-84, 86, 87 and note, 92, 93, 161, 214, 377

Rantzau, Maréchal de, 391

Ravaillac (assassin of Henri IV.), 27

Regnsson, his engraving of Madame de Longueville, 100

Renard's garden, 167 note, 349

Rentes, the, 293, 368

Rethel, Battle of, 448-450

Retz, Cardinal de, early life and character, 275-276; intercedes with Anne of Austria for the release of Blancmesnil and Broussel, 277, 278; incites an insurrection, 278; his interviews with Condé, 286, 291; enters into an alliance with Madame de Longueville, 303, 304; "makes Mazarin pass for one of the most obstinate Jews in Europe," 306; advises Madame de Longueville to take up her residence at the Hôtel de Ville, 321, 322; negotiates with Spain, 331-333; in definite opposition to the Government, 349; his overtures to Condé, 359; endeavours to incite an insurrection, 370, 371; prosecuted by Condé before the Parlement, 375, 376; reveals to the Duc de Longueville his wife's relations with La Rochefoucauld, 376, 377; lover of Mlle. de Chevreuse, 378 and note; enters into an alliance with the Court against Condé, 383; "the worst man God ever made," 445 note; his demand to be nominated cardinal

refused, 445-447; enters into an alliance with the party of the princes, 479, 480; offers to raise the populace against the Court, 502; confers with the Queen, 530, 531; his responsibility for the proposal to assassinate Condé considered, 532-535; enters into a definite alliance with the Court, 550, 551; brings armed men to the Palais de Justice, 552; narrowly escapes assassination, 552-553; bestows his episcopal blessing on Condé and La Rochefoucauld, 554; plays fast and loose with both sides, 581; attempt to kidnap him, 581 note; seeks to detach Orléans from Condé, 591; and to prevent a reconciliation between Mazarin and the prince, 596; "desires to rid himself of the Prince de Condé," 602; arrested and imprisoned at Vincennes, 608; (cited) 95, 101, 141, 150, 155, 373, 375 note, 385, 427, 459 note, 533, 547, 553, 554, 561

Richelieu, Armand de Plessis, Duc de, 120, 135 and note, 137, 183, 233, 257, 300, 381-383, 401, 402

— Cardinal de, 37, 46, 52, 57, 70, 72, 73, 80, 87, 111, 112, 122-127, 131, 133-136, 146, 150, 173, 174, 181, 182, 193, 230, 232, 243, 244, 265, 266, 276, 529 note, 535

Rochechouart, Gabrielle de, Abbess of Fontevrault, 661

Rochefort, Baron de, 15, 23, 36

Rocroi, Battle of, 46, 143-145, 200

Røderer (cited), 84

Rohan, Duchesse de, 182, 186

— Henri, Duc de, 182, 582

Rohan-Chabot, Duc de, 202, 353, 582 and note, 590, 595, 607

Ronsard, 85

- Rotrou, Jean, 112
 Rouen, Madame de Longueville at, 396-401
 Roy, M. (cited), 439
 Rueil, Château of, 112, 284, 286, 287, 290, 291
 — Peace of, 335-341

 Sablé, Guy de Laval, Marquis de, 117, 205
 — Madeleine de Souvré, Marquise de, 102, 103, 155, 161, 183, 191, 205, 214, 377, 659-671, 674, 675, 679, 680, 687, 688, 689, 703, 705, 707, 708, 710
 Sacy, Père, 678, 684, 691 note, 692
 Saint-Cyran, Abbé de, 678
 Saint-Germain, Declaration of, 293, 294, 303
 Saint-Ibal, Comte de, 222, 395, 411
 Saint-Maur, Château of, 54, 187, 536-544
 — Treaty of, 540
 Saint-Mesgrin, Marquis de, 600, 601
 Saint-Paul, Charles Paris, d'Orléans, Comte de: *see* Longueville
 Saint-Simon, Claude de Rouvroy, Duc de, 518, 522, 576, 686, (cited) 363
 — Louis de Rouvroy, Duc de (cited), 686, 708
 Saint-Thomas (agent of Condé in England), 628
 Sainte-Aulaire, Comte de (cited), 400
 Sainte-Beuve (cited), 692, 713 note, 717, 720
 Sainte-Ménéhould, Treaty of, 35
 Saintsbury, Professor (cited), 108
 Sarrasin, 89, 94, 113, 411, 489, 613
 Saugeon, Mlle. de, 383, 384
 Scève, Maurice, 85

 Schomberg, Marie de Hautefort, Duchesse de, 150, 153, 170, 171, 229, 231, 661, 663
 Schurman, Maria Anna van, 212, 213
 Scudéry Georges de, 87, 96, 103
 — Madame de, 87
 — Madeleine de, 87, 89, 96, 97, 103, 460
 Séguier, Chancellor, 110, 205, 278, 293, 388, 389
 Servien Abel, 193, 194, 207, 209, 242, 300, 301, 388, 389, 506, 540, 547
 Sévigné, Madame de, 89, 184, 661, 711; (cited) 667, 712, 713
 Sexby, Colonel, 629, 630
 Sillery, Marquis de, 520 and note, 521, 605
 Singlin, Antoine, 648, 679-684
 Sirot, Baron de, 144
 Sobieski, John (afterwards King of Poland), 710
 Soissons, Comte de, 31, 34, 149
 Soreth, Jean, 58
 Spinola, Ambrogio, 17 and note, 23
 Stanhope, Earl (cited), 49, 261 note, 348 note, 508, 520
 Stenai, Madame de Longueville at, 414 and note, 422, 423, 432, 459, 462, 463, 473, 488, 489, 490, 503, 585
 Stuart, Henri, Sieur de Bonair, 408
 Sully, Duc de, 9, 15, 31, 37, 147

Tabouret, the, 305 note
Tabourets, "War of the, 366-368
Taille, the, 265 and note, 293
Tallemant des Réaux (cited), 2, 8, 83, 86 note, 155, 659
 Talon, Omer (advocate-general), 248, 373
 Tarente, Prince de, 375 and note
 Tavannes, Comte de, 357, 575, 591, 600

- Termes, Marquisⁿ de, 401
 Testu, Abbé, 661
 Thémînes, Marquise ^de, arrests
 Henri II., Prince de Condé, 37,
 38
 Thionville, surrender of, 145,
 146
 Thou, Président de, 7
 Toledo, Don Gabriel de, 423
 Tracy, Comte de, 256, 463 and
 note, 464, 465
 Traigny, M. de (governor of
 Amiens), 11, 13
 — Madame de, 13
 Tréville, M. de, 138, 139
 Turenne, Maréchal de, 207, 208,
 238, 333-335, 340, 389, 414,
 423-427, 432-439, 443, 448-450,
 457, 472, 487, 489, 523, 539,
 541, 559, 573, 580, 587, 590,
 591, 597-600, 717 and note

Uranistes and Jobistes, quarrel of
 the, 105-108
 Urban VIII., Pope, 192
 Urfé, Honoré d', 5

 Valant, 662, 663
 Valençay, Marquise de, 118
 Vendôme, César, Duc de, 10, 37,
 147, 170, 356, 358, 518 and note,
 617
 Vertus, Comte de, 155 note
 — Comtesse de, 155 note
 — Mlle. de, 658, 679-681, 712
 Vialart, Bishop of Châlons, 695
 Villars (leader of the *Ormée* at
 Bordeaux), 619, 625, 632, 634,
 641, 643
 — Marquis de, 461, 462
 — Marquise de, 461
 Villeroi, Maréchal de (*gouverneur*
 of Louis XIV.), 285, 481, 494,
 556
 Vincennes, Château of, 42-44, 66,
 170, 251, 273, 390, 391, 416,
 435, 436, 437, 438, 439
 Viole, Président, 302, 479, 507,
 508, 539, 542, 561, 564, 585,
 595, 610, 612, 614
 Virey (secretary of Henri II.,
 Prince de Condé), 14, 15, 16,
 28, 29, 30
 Voiture, Vincent, 89, 90, 91-94,
 104-108, 113, 119, 120, 214,
 215, 217
 Voltaire (cited), 47

 Watteville, Baron de, 575, 636
 Westphalia, Peace of, 239
 Willert, Mr. P. F. (cited), 26, 27

March 14

